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ABSTRACT

Inner City children have been known to experience difficulty in school with their academic programs because they are taught in an environment that is culturally different from the home and community that a child comes from. Thus, an inner city child may be stigmatized as educationally deficient, consequently depriving him of the opportunities to fully realize his potentials or utilize his skills. The expectations, attitudes, and values that exist in the school setting sometimes conflict with those of the children and the community that it is supposed to serve and may affect the attitude of the children towards learning. This paper describes the background, philosophy, strategies and problems of the Cultural Continuity Project (CCP) in Urban Education, one of the nine programs undertaken by the Documentation and Technical Assistance in Urban School project. CCP was designed to resolve cultural conflicts and improve interaction between the school, the community members and other individuals concerned with the education of inner city children by using a psychosocial model approach to problem solving. The model seeks to change the attitudes of teachers, administrators, and parents by providing increased access to expert information on areas of mutual concern to all. (Author/AOS)

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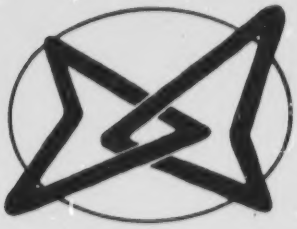

CULTURAL VALUES AND SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT:

A REPORT ON THE SAN ANDREAS CULTURAL CONTINUITY PROJECT ON URBAN EDUCATION

David M. Smith

January 1979

UD 022 748

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The names of people, projects and places have been pseudonymed to preserve the anonymity of participants.

PROJECT OVERVIEW

The Documentation and Technical Assistance in Urban Schools Project (DTA) is an effort to learn more about how to make urban public schools work better for urban students. Toward this end, DTA combines educational research and practice within one project. DTA's mandate has three interrelated parts:

> DOCUMENTATION - to study, using primarily ethnographic techniques, the ways in which selected urban schools organize themselves to solve problems. Documentation focuses upon nine sites throughout the country selected and funded by NIE to continue to engage in locally initiated improvement activities.
>
> TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE - to develop in practice specific strategies which are designed to improve urban public schooling. Technical assistance strategies are based in part upon documentation of useful practices in the nine funded sites.
>
> LINKAGE - to increase understanding, through observation of DTA's attempts to link documentation with technical assistance, of the processes through which research can be useful to practice, and practice can influence research.

This case study is a product of the documentation effort. The ideas, commitment, hard work, successes and disappointments of the people directly working within urban schools on a day-to-day basis are in a very real sense the base of DTA. This case study captures part of that experience in one of the sites. It is our hope that this description will be useful to researchers, policy planners and particularly to the people who work directly in schools in their efforts to improve the quality and validity of the educational experiences for urban students.

Thomas A. Wilson
DTA Project Director

PREFACE TO A SERIES OF CASE STUDIES

Produced by the

DOCUMENTATION AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROJECT (DTA)

In 1974 the Local Capacity for Problem Solving Group of the National Institute of Education held a national competition to identify locally initiated projects which showed promise of fundamentally improving urban schools. They were searching for projects which sought to restructure schools in such ways that the schools could successfully work on solving their problems in an ongoing fashion, rather than for the projects which sought to introduce some one-shot, particular innovation. They selected nine projects which included a variety of strategies and approaches such as teacher centers, organizational consultation, and community involvement arrangements. This document is a case study of one of these nine projects.

The purpose of this preface is to briefly outline general contextual and methodological issues relating to the production of this case study. We believe that researchers usually shy away from sharing this information and the information is valuable becuase it answers many of the readers' questions and helps the readers to interpret and use the case study. The readers can find more details on all these issues in the DTA paper "Explorations of the Concept of Local Capacity for Problem Solving." (S. Wilson, 1977) Similarly, the site researchers address many of these issues in the methodological appendices of their case studies.

Focus of the Case Study - Charge Given to Site Researchers

In each of the nine sites there was a particular strategy that was funded by NIE. That is, certain people had written the proposal and were involved in intervening to help improve the schools in ways that they thought would

build long-term capacity for problem solving. The site researchers were primarily resonsible for documenting the playing out of that strategy. They were charged with answering these kinds of questions: How did the interveners think schools needed to be restructured? How did these interveners think they could effectively take action to facilitate this restructuring? What did they actually do? What happened as they tried to intervene? Why did it happen? What did the school people with whom they worked think about what was happening? What other characteristics of the site influenced the course of events? What was the impact of the intervener's actions? NIE had spent considerable time on selecting these promising strategies, and site researchers were expected to document them thoroughly. There was much to learn from these concrete attempts to improve schools.

We hoped, of course, that in documenting these particular strategies, the site researchers would be able to provide a more general analysis of how and why schools do and don't solve their problems, and even more fundamentally, of how urban schools function. To varying degrees this more general analysis is explicitly, or implicitly, present in the case studies. The reader, however, should not expect a study of schools as total settings. Clearly, the prime focus was on documenting the particular NIE funded strategy, and often that task consumed most of the site researcher's energies. The wisdom of this concentration on the funded strategy seems limited to us now.

Timing

Below we present a time line which will help the reader see how the research fits into the history of the sites, and how much time was spent in the field.

September 1974	Nine sites funded activity begins.
January 1975	DTA contractor selected for project.
April 1975	Site researchers begin studying sites and attempt historical reconstruction of events up to their entry in the field.
July 1976	Site researchers begin to write drafts of case studies documenting period of observation. They continue to document sites at reduced level.
November 1976	Site researchers return to field to observe at full effort.
June 1977	Nine site funding ends.
June 1977	Site researchers begin to write final drafts of case studies incorporating critiques of first draft and new data gather from second period of observation.

At full effort, site researchers spent about three days a week in the field. The details of dates and amounts of time spent in the field vary from site to site. Readers are urged to consult the methodological appendices of the case studies for details.

DTA Project Context

Site researchers were not scholars pursuing independent research projects. While they were given considerable latitude to shape their own research activities, they were working on a specific government contract. The readers may find it helpful in understanding the research to be aware of this DTA project context.

This context may have influenced the research by the demands it made on site researchers' energies and by the implicit values it fostered. We have

already mentioned how the contract shaped the focus. In addition to producing case studies, site researchers were needed to support other project activities including comparative cross-site analysis, testing of an experimental computerized data storage and retrieval system for qualitative data, and ongoing assistance to schools.

This last activity needs elaboration. Based on analysis that many research findings do not really get used to improve schools, the DTA contract called for the innovative combination of research on efforts to improve schools with the simultaneous attempts within the same project to use that information to help other schools. Thus, site researchers were involved in activities such as responding to assistance staff questions, visiting the schools that were being assisted, and participating in seminars designed to see how their research could be useful.

The readers should realize, then, that site researchers were not able to focus their energies exclusively on the production of the case studies. Their data and analysis had to serve many other purposes. Also, the contract did not only influence time expenditure. Many people within the DTA project--including some site researchers--were not convinced that traditional case studies were the most powerful format for sharing research so that it helped in the improvement of schools. This emphasis on <u>using</u> the research thus influenced DTA staff's decisions about what the case studies should look like, and even the value some placed on the case study relative to other activities. We invite the reader to read the other DTA papers in addition to reading the case studies, and to join us in reflection on what are the most powerful ways to use research.

Research Methodology and Theoretical Orientations

Site researchers were requested to use a grounded research process. That is, they were asked to build their generalizations on analysis that emerged from ongoing data collection and to test critically the relevance of outside theoretical concepts and frameworks against the day-to-day life of the site they were studying. Grounded research was deemed appropriate for two reasons:

1. The concept, local capacity for problem solving, is relatively new in educational change projects. DTA was exploring the meaning and usefulness of the concept. We felt it would be premature to limit the data collection relevant to this exploration by pre-specifying the concepts and research activities.

2. The nine sites project staff, the core staff of the two organizations who received the DTA contract and the site researchers represent a wide diversity of experience, disciplinary background, and theoretical orientations. A grounded research approach would allow flexibility necessary for each case study research effort to benefit from the theoretical orientations that would be most appropriate for understanding events at that site.

As a result the case studies vary considerably in the nature of their theoretical emphasis and indeed in the amount of explicit theorizing. Most of the case studies concentrate on description and have first level interpretation. In this way, they attempt to serve as a resource to readers from various disciplines and theoretical dispositions.

Concretely, site researchers used a variety of techniques to collect data. These techniques included some combination of participant observation, formal interviewing, informal interviewing, document analysis, and qualitative techniques. They observed in a variety of behavior settings. The specific details are described in each case study.

The project described in this case study was undertaken by serious, caring people trying to improve urban schools. We are grateful to the

participants for letting us learn from their experiences--to share vicariously the joy of their accomplishments, and with them to puzzle through their difficulties. We hope the reader finds what (s)he needs in entering these pages.

Stephen Wilson
Head, Documentation Team, DTA

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While I accept claim to authorship of this report, many individuals had a hand in its preparation. Ms. Yvonne King, Dr. Stephen Wilson, Dr. Carl Word and Dr. Thomas Wilson made substantive contributions. The site people, who had to put up with two years of documentation and then afterwards, several hours of interview by me, are especially to be thanked. I have diligently tried to accurately report and interpret their contributions. Ms. Dorothy Kahn had the unenviable task of editing the final copy, and Sara Hennings and Gloria Spann of typing my sometimes garbled dictation or illegible handwriting.

David Smith

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The following report is based on data collected by the author, primarily from after-the-fact interviews with project participants and a perusal of project documents. This information base is much more limited than what would be supplied by a careful on-site documentation by a field researcher. One result of this limitation is a possible lack of balance in some of the reporting. I acknowledge this possibility and make no claim to have told the whole story, although I am confident of the strength of the analysis contained in the final chapter.

To increase the strength of the analysis a preliminary draft of the report was provided to two school people and to two project people who had been active in CCP. They provided a number of helpful insights and reactions as well as some important data which were incorporated into the final draft to the extent possible. In addition, the project director was invited to include his own addendum if he felt that this would be helpful in providing a clearer understanding of the project's outcomes.

Specifically, one reader felt that the contributions of the two parent consultants, who were characterized throughout as activists, could have been treated more fully. They both had histories of constructive involvement in education that predated the project. The same reader thought that a more detailed discussion of the events surrounding the termination of the teacher trainers would have given a more accurate sense of project developments. Another reader was concerned that I played down the role of the principal at P.S. 656 in planning and implementing the project. Still another expressed uneasiness that the statements attributed to the teachers in Chapter II might be misconstrued as characteristic of all teachers in San Andreas. He wanted

it made clear that there were many teachers who were sensitive to the needs and cultural differences of their students.

Finally, one of the readers flagged a problem of language. Throughout the report I have referred to certain parent consultants as "community activists" and have suggested that their presence in the project was an important factor in explaining the project. To some, "activist" or "activism" carry pejorative connotations. While this may be true, particularly for some participants in the CCP, my use of the terms was intended to be strictly descriptive and was part of the project's working lexicon. I could not think of a more accurate and neutral term.

Given these caveats, the report on the CCP is presented without apology, as the summary account of an interesting and important experiment in improving urban schools.

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INTRODUCTION

For three years, from June 1975 through June 1977, the local problem-solving group at NIE funded an attempt to improve educational opportunities for students in two San Andreas* inner city schools. The project was called the Cultural Continuity Project in Urban Education (CCP). Under the direction of Dr. Nathaniel Prince, a psychologist employed in a research and development center of a large medical school in the city, the CCP attempted to enlist the cooperation of school personnel and community people in two elementary schools to identify and devleop the capacity to solve major school problems. The CCP provided the staff to facilitate the process of bringing teachers, administrators, and parents together, of providing training, and of engaging experts to deal with special problem areas.

Underlying the CCP program was a belief that inner city children experience difficulty and fall behind academically because they are forced to perform in an alien culture. The school culture is different from, and in conflict with, that of the child's home and community where he/she is socialized. In this situation the child is seen by the school as deficient or deprived and his/her unique strengths or skills are not utilized in school experience. In many instances the expectations of the school, its attitudes and values, as well as its policies and procedures, are all in conflict with those of the children and the community which it is supposed to serve. Predictably, children caught in the middle react by misbehaving, staying away from school and showing low scholastic achievement.

> Consequences of these conflicts have been a constant clash between educator and child, educator and parent. The perpetual confrontation and hostility rarely removed, prevents substantive improvements in urban education . (The CCP Continuation Proposal, p. 2)

*The project city, major organizations involved and all individuals' names are pseudonymed.

The CCP strategy for removing these conflicts and improving the quality of interaction among all participants in the eduation process rested upon the implementation of, what it terms, "a psycho-social action model" (Ibid, p. 2) of school based problem solving. The goal of this strategy was not the institutionalization of another permanent special program in the schools, but a basic change in the attitudes and behavior of teachers, administrators and parents coupled with an increased access to expert information in areas of mutual concern. The plan was to get school and community people to adopt a model for cooperative action based on open communication and mutual respect, not as an adjunct to, but as an integral part of school operations.

As a consequence of these goals, the recruitment of community volunteers, training of both volunteers and school personnel, and the development of structures to support the process became the main thrust of the staff's efforts during the three-year operation of the project. The form these efforts took will be described in more detail in later cchapters.

In one sense the CCP experience is the most graphic illustration of its own premise. Participants in the CCP are sharply divided as to its success. School personnel generally feel that it had little lasting impact; parents involved in the project and CCP staff believe they achieved a great deal. This strong divergence of opinion is of more than simply academic interst. Tracing its roots gets to the heart of the problem being addressed by the project and en route reveals much of the dynamics of the experiments as well as showing a profile of the problems encountered in its implementation.

The present documentation is not evaluation of the project's effectiveness, rather it sketchos the story of the CCP with the purpose of

explicating the reasons for these different perceptions. The reasons are not unique to the CCP but are based on realities that must be faced by most assistance interventions in urban public schools.

Chapter I sets the project, tracing the convergent threads that are important to the understanding of the CCP story. They are: the situation in the San Andreas public schools, especially P.S. 461 and P.S. 656, the CCP target schools, the interest and involvement of Dr. Prince, and the community activists who were involved in the project.

Chapter II describes the CCP as a funded strategy, its underlying philosophy and proposed program with special emphasis on Dr. Prince's interpretation of the cultural discontinuity issue, and traces the actual evolution of the project during its three-year existence. The implementation of Phase I and the changes that characterized Phase II are highlighted.

In Chapter III the CCP is analyzed by looking at several issues which either plagued the project from the beginning or emerged as it unfolded. These explanatory themes are:

1. The different set of perceptions characteristic of the TAG and the school staff.

2. The tension between the CCP's desire to address structural and organizational issues and the teachers' immediate daily needs.

3. The attempt to fuse the strategic concerns of political activists with attention to substantive educational program needs.

4. The importance of personal and professional characteristics of project leadership to effectiveness.

5. The unanticipated effects of the mandated staff integration on the TAG effort.

CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND AND SETTING

It is clearly impossible to trace all of the historical or situational factors that are significant to the development or the outcome of the CCP. There were several specific events and aspects of the setting however, that hindsight reveals as important to the CCP story. Among them are: the interest of Dr. Prince and his involvement in the schools, the history of political activism on the part of several community people who were later employed by the project, the general climate in the San Andreas public schools, the specific, significantly different, organizational configurations of the schools, and in the school/community relations characteristic of the two target schools. Each of these contextual features are briefly discussed in this chapter.

The San Andreas Schools

General

The San Andreas Unified School District (SAUSD) encompasses San Andreas, eight other entire cities and parts of eighteen additional cities. It has jurisdiction over more than 600 schools and serves well over one-half million students each year. The system is governed by a board composed of seven members, elected at large to serve a four-year term with four, and then five of them running for election every two years. This huge district covering more than 700 square miles, is decentralized,, being divided into twelve sub-districts, each with its own superintendent. These sub-district superintendents, in conjunction with their principals and board-mandated parent advisory councils, hold most of the decision-making power for the sub-districts. Given its size, the San Andreas schools face most of the same problems that are being wrestled with in other major urban centers with

some added wrinkles. These problems include: a high concentration of minority students from poor families in the inner city with pockets of very affluent families in the outlying sub-districts, uncertainty and dissension respecting the desegregation issue, and shrinking student populations. Each of these is important in the COP story. The educational needs of poor, minority students, who consistently failed to score as high as their more affluent counterparts on measures of educational achievement, were the underlying impetuses to the Project. The desegregation issue affected the project in several ways and will be treated in some detail later. The effect of shrinking pupil population, while more indirect, is perhaps equally significant and since it is not discussed elsewhere, merits explanation here.

The causes of this shrinkage are several. The most significant cause of shrinking student bodies is the declining birth rate. In addition, there had been several instances of teen gang violence in or associated with the schools in the early 1970s which compelled a number of parents to take their children out of the public schools. A third factor, affecting primarily the inner city schools, is the presence of a voluntary busing program. Parents in highly segregated schools can request that their children be bused to other schools. Virtually all of the movement resulting from this program is away from the inner city.

While there is little that school administrators can do to reverse the trend, it is having a major impact on inner city schools, in a decline in the number of teaching and administrative jobs available, and a lowering of the average daily attendance (ADA). Both have affected the quality of education for inner city students. As the size of teaching staffs

decreased, it is the young teachers who leave (or are not hired). The ADA is the basis for determining the level of funding for many special programs in the schools supported by the state. As ADA goes down, money for programs is decreased and in some cases the programs are terminated. Both of the project schools have had serious problems maintaining their programs due to shrinking student population in the past few years.

The Two Target Schools and their Neighborhoods

The two schools selected for participation in the CCP are both in sub-district number three which is located in the center of San Andreas, not far from the area of the racial upheaval in the 1960s. There are 47 schools all told in sub-district three, 36 elementary, seven junior high and four senior high. These schools have a total student population of about 60,000 and employ over 2,000 teachers.

In 1974 when the project began, P.S. 461 enrolled 922 pupils. Of these 912, or 99 percent were Black, seven were Spanish surnamed, two were white, and one was Asian. In the spring of 1976 the school enrolled 856 pupils of whom 98 percent were Black and by October of 1976, enrollment had dropped to 745 pupils. Although no figures are available, the racial mixture had also changed with an increase in the percentage of Spanish surnamed pupils.

P.S. 656 enrolled 1,065 pupils in 1974 of whom 1,018 or 96 percent were Black, 42 were Spanish surnamed, two were Asian, two white, and one was native American. During the 1974-75 academic year P.S. 461 was composed of three major components; a children's center, a Head Start program, and the elementary school. It had approximately 53 on its teaching staff.

Among its special educational programs and services, it participated

in the ESEA Title I Program, the National School Breakfast and Lunch Program, offered an after-school recreational program, and had organized dance and charm classes.

P.S. 656, which consisted of a children's center and elementary school, had a teaching staff of approximately 71. Its special educational program and services included participation in the ESEA Title I program, the National School Lunch Program, a day-care program for community workers and parents, an after-school recreational program, an English as a second language program, and a Miller-Unruh reading program. Most of these programs, for both schools, were supported by state or federal monies.

Although the neighborhoods of both P.S. 461 and P.S. 656, consist mostly of single family detached wood and stucco homes arranged on broad avenues, the communities are economically depressed. The average family income for P.S. 461 was about $7,000 in 1975, and only about $5,600 for families living in the area served by P.S. 656. In both cases about 54 percent of the families were receiving some type of public assistance.

Despite the pleasant appearance of the neighborhood, there are numerous boarded-up structures, condemned and vacant. Businesses in the area are small stores, auto repair garages and light industries. Churches are usually small storefronts. There are few or no public libraries, parks, theaters, department stores or supermarkets in the immediate vicinity. The major metropolitan museums and other cultural attractions are more than three miles from the school.

In addition to these characteristics of the two schools, the documentation effort revealed a number of other features which proved to be significant in the implementation and carrying out of the CCP. The most notable of these are discussed briefly below.

Styles of the Principals

While the formal organization of the two schools is virtually identical (the differences being the larger number of special programs at P.S. 656), there are important differences in the way the respective principals administered their programs. At P.S. 656 there was an elaborate committee structure in which teachers and administrators met frequently to discuss issues and problems. But in making decisions and getting advice, the principal, who had been there a relatively short time when the project started, and left at the end of its second year to work in the sub-district office, relied heavily on an informal circle of confidantes. Teachers at times expressed mystification and ignorance about policy decisions that had been made. Furthermore, although teachers were willing to express their opinions in a forthright manner and were regularly involved in discussing school related issues, the principal pretty much kept her own council, resulting in the staff sometimes feeling that they had little real input to the final determinations.

The principal at P.S. 461 had been there a long time and had developed a very different administrative style. He depended heavily upon a vice-principal to maintain face-to-face contact with the instructional staff and handle staff development activities. There were few functional committees at the school. His policy was to give no opportunity for conflict or divergent opinions to surface and cause problems. Teachers tended to express disagreements or inevitable hostilities privately, but not to stand up and speak out. Staff problems were handled quietly in individual consultation.

Community/Parent Relationships

The nature of relationships betwen the schools and the communities was most sharply articulated in the activities of parent volunteers. Both of the schools were required, as Title I schools, to consult with community representatives through board-mandated parent advisory councils, even before the CCP was initiated. However, in P.S. 656 parents were much less active than at P.S. 461.

The administration in P.S. 656 did not give parents a great deal of responsibility or instruction in school policy decisions. The most active parents tended to be those identified and contacted by the school administration. Little effort, beyond that required by law, was spent involving members of the community at large. When parent volunteers did meet it was at the instigation of the school and teachers typically met with them to give guidance.

The story was very different at P.S. 561. Here parents, led by a cadre of activists (including some who became involved with the direction of the CCP) insisted on having an important voice in their children's education. Before the advent of the CCP, they had been responsible for getting the library upgraded, carpeting installed, shelving put in and some important changes in the cafeteria. They had been active in challenging budget decisions and in several curriculum decisions, notably in getting changes made in the procedures for assigning students to classes for the educably mentally retarded.

The administration, and to some extent teachers, resisted what they saw as confrontation and, occasionally, as meddling by non-professionals, on the part of the vocal leaders of the P.S. 561 parents. However, at least some

of the teachers found these parent volunteers a valuable asset to their task and they made use of them in the classroom. Not only did they come to rely on them, but in several cases, as federal or state money became available these volunteers were hired as teacher aides. (This came to be something of a bone of contention as the activists saw this hiring as an administration attempt to "buy off" the opposition. The administration, of course, claimed that it was a good use of resources and that they were rewarding parents for work they shouldn't have to do for free.)

Relationship of the Two Schools to the CCP

The relationship to and attitude toward the CCP was also different from school to school. Dr. Prince, whose entry into the sub-district was through P.S. 656, had been active in attempting to implement a special reading program there. In the early 1970s he developed the project, which was the forerunner of the CCP, in that school. During this effort he spent a great deal of time at the school holding meetings with teachers, designed to help them overcome the cultural differences that existed between the schools and the community. Being a trained and practicing child psychologist, he was also able to help work out conflicts between teachers and administrators, teachers and teacher aides and teachers and students. Teachers found Dr. Prince charismatic and sympathetic and came to see his workshops as both immensely practical and emotionally rewarding sensitivity sessions.

It was while working here that he came in contact with P.S. 461, the group of parent activists working there, and a number of other schools in sub-district three. When it came time to respond to the NIE RFP some of the teachers and the principal of P.S. 656 helped in writing the proposal for

the CCP. As a consequence of this history, teachers and administrators at P.S. 656 tended to see the CCP as "their step-child." Furthermore, they developed a set of expectations as to its form. Specifically, they felt that the CCP should be a continuation of the original sensitivity sessions approach and that Dr. Prince himself would be deeply involved in it.

The significant people involved with CCP from P.S. 461 were not the school personnel, but the parent activists. The Project Director, Mr. Sam Henry, hired after the contract was let, had worked with these parents and had a part in writing the proposal. While the teachers at P.S. 656 saw the project as a means for continuing a valuable personal experience in enhancing their teaching ability, the parents at P.S. 461 saw it as a potentially effective vehicle for achieving the political ends of having a more direct voice in school affairs.

Complicating this situation was the housing of the project. Despite the proprietary attitude of the teachers at P.S. 656 the project found itself headquartered at P.S. 461 simply because there were more rooms available. (The original plan was to have office space at The Metropolitan Mental Health Center. However, when the contract actually came through the Center found itself short of space and unable to accommodate the CCP.) A further complication was to have Sam Henry, whom teachers associated with parent activism, repsonsible for most of the on-line project activities instead of Dr. Prince. These decisions and others led teachers at P.S. 656 to see the actual project as fundamentally different from what they had originally conceptualized.

Dr. Prince's Involvement

> Following the racial upheavals of 1968, Dr. Nathaniel Prince, a child psychologist on the staff of the Metropolitan Mental Center in San Andreas, was asked to assist several schools in the South Central San Andreas Area in their efforts to understand and eventually solve the problems of high drop-out rates, student aggression and fighting, the fears and anxieties of parents and teachers, and low student achievement.
>
> Working primarily with teenage drop-outs, Dr. Prince encouraged them to freely express their feeling with people in the schools, to build on their own strength as a source of motivation and self-help. Utilizing his contact with other community agencies, Dr. Prince continued to work with these young people and many of them eventually returned to school. One result of this experience was the establishment of a consortium of community agencies, parent groups and school organizations to begin to examine closely the school, home and community environment and to identify and address factors in these environments that produce conflicts and problems for the child.
>
> (Original Proposal)

Out of these experiences Dr. Prince eventually put together what he called a psycho-social action model to meet the needs of urban school children. This model was the basis of his efforts in P.S. 656 referred to earlier, which in turn became the basis for the CCP. In this early project, Dr. Prince worked in close personal contact with the school. This, given his personal mode of relating to teachers along with his obvious competence and access to useful resources was a major factor in being warmly accepted by them. In the year and a half prior to the NIE funded project, he conducted two twelve-week sessions during which he spent three hours a day in the school. By the time the NIE "Request for Proposal" appeared he had developed a clear conceptual model dealing with the cultural conflict in the schools, and had attracted a cadre of devoted teachers and parents, eager to implement and support the project. Numbered among these supporters, and a critical factor in getting the project accepted by the school, was Mrs. Sarah Johnson, the principal at P.S. 656. Not only did she help with the

project proposal writing, but she contributed her own time in the summer to interview and screen applications for the job of project director and teacher trainer.

Community Activists

Some time during the pre-CCP activities at P.S. 656, Dr. Prince came in contact with the group of parent activists from the P.S. 461 school community. Among them was a Mrs. Gertrude Bass whose own children had graduated from the elementary school. She had continued as a leader in the community's interest and efforts in the school, including serving as chairperson of the parent-advisory committee. Mrs. Bass had been active in organizing and leading a number of crusades in the school and was well known by the administrators who generally felt that her style was more confrontative than cooperative. Another member of this group was Mrs. Harriet Evans, who not only was active in school affairs but was a well known political activist who had run for the United States presidency on a splinter party ticket. Both Mrs. Bass and Mrs. Evans had long histories of constructive contributions to the resolution of both local and city-wide school issues. They were not only active in school politics, but were members of the Afro-American Development Council which was one of the minority advisory groups to the Board of Education. This Council worked to make sure that a Black perspective was considered in major board decisions. In this capacity the Council members worked closely with Mr. Sam Henry, who was one of the Council tri-chairpersons.

Unlike Dr. Prince, whose approach to school problems was psycho-culturally based and aimed at individuals, these community activists, although concerned with the same fundamental issues, took a political tack.

Consonant with their approach they tended to operate from an adversary model much like that underlying the American legal system. Their modus operandi was to work in various committees and councils for improvement in the way schools were educating children. From the vantage point of these committees and councils which gave them access to the schools, they acted as constant watchdogs looking out for problems that they could bring to the attention of school administrators. At the same time, they worked to mobilize and educate parents and other community members to exercise their rights in bringing maximum pressure on school administrators, the Board of Education, and the legislature to improve the educational process.

Although they had scored some notable victories, this approach often resulted in frustration. By addressing head-on individual incidents they would obtain an outburst of attention, the administration would respond, find some way to smooth the waves and then, from the activist perspective, continue policies as usual. The introduction to Dr. Prince and his efforts, working within the schools, suggested the possibility of a collaborative arrangement that would offer a more permanent solution to the problems.

Mr. Henry participated in the writing of the original draft proposal to be project director. Both Mrs. Bass and Mrs. Evans were hired and was eventually hired as parent consultants to the project. In addition, Mr. Robert Smith, who had also been active in the Afro-American School Development Council, was hired to be a documenter for the project. The effects of these developments will be analyzed in Chapter III.

CHAPTER II: ORGANIZATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CULTURAL CONTINUITY PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

The Cultural Continuity Project (CCP) was a direct continuation of the activities of Dr. Prince and the community activists discussed in the previous chapter, but throughout its entire tenure as an NIE funded technical assistance strategy, it changed and evolved as reflected in the three funding proposals submitted to NIE for Phase I, II and III. This chapter attempts to sketch, in overview, the premises, the original organization and the evolution of the project. Both the formal, stated strategies and the less formal, frequently not openly stated strategies uncovered through the documentation effort will be addressed.

Cultural Discontinuity: The Underlying Premise

Following are some actual comments by teachers and parents from the two school communities targeted by the CCP, illustrating the discontinuity between parents and teachers which the project addressed.

First, some parents:

> Teachers are here for so many hours. After school they want to rush back. They don't care about these children.
>
> Not all of them, of course, but some are just babysitting. Children do not learn anything, and they're sitting up there reading the paper.
>
> Title I was designed for failure. When children begin to learn something, when they do well and the tests show they can read, they take the money away. The school needs for our children to fail so they can get some money.
>
> These teachers are just not interested after work is over. Now that they got Black psychologists in the schools, more children are being classified retarded than before. It's so they can fill up a class so Teacher Y can have a job.
>
> If a child doesn't fit the mold, the school says throw the child out. They bring in a whole new value system. That's competitive, combative, everything. Our values are beginning to erode.

A long-time activist parent sums it up:

> Yes, there is some class conflict. There is a real schism there. At first, back in 1965, we said we need middle class brothers to help us. We got out the troops to demand some Black teachers. This isn't a blanket indictment--some helped. But most of them didn't do anything. There is only one Black principal on the secondary level. We got pressure applied to get Black principals. The majority, not all, did nothing. Mr. A., over at X School told us when we protested that a teacher was beating up kids, 'Go protest at the school board;, they'll replace him.' He (the principal) wasn't going to do anything.

Teachers are just as critical in their comments abouut parents and the community, as the following comments indicate.

A 22-year veteran teacher, 14 years at the school, resonds to, "What problems do you find in your classroom?"

> It's really discipline and really the lack of parent interest. We get very little feedback from letters and correspondence and telephone calls. They just don't seem to be interested, and don't have or don't take the time.

Black teacher: "When they do come they're drunk. How can you talk to someone when he's been drinking?" Another veteran teacher finds parents lose enthusiasm for volunteering:

> We're having trouble recruiting them (volunteers). Volunteers are falling away. Upper grade teachers have had little fun, I guess.

An administrator says the parents just don't come out:

> We have an open house, two or three parents show up. I thought most of these kids were orphans until the Halloween parade. They won't come out to talk to teachers but they're out here by the hundreds to watch the parade.

A 12-year veteran explains:

> The central problem is that parents don't encourage children at home. A teacher can only do with what she gets.

A curriculum supervisor says:

> The major problem is motivation. Motivation is the key. If the children don't want to learn there isn't much the teacher can do. A parent has them for four or five and a half years, and for 18 hours a day. And vacations. And weekends. If the children would stick to it, they could learn this stuff. They have the intellectual abilities.
>
> It's really economic. The children don't bring much to the school. The school has to widen his background. Title I funds provide audiovisual materials to open up their heads to the larger world. Some of them come here without breakfast. Title I at least provides breakfast. Economics is underlying all the problems because absences are in many cases due to the lack of food, of clothes. They're absent one day this week, two days next week.

Not all parents, teachers or administrators share these views. However, they clearly point up a significant problem that exists between too many urban schools and the communities they serve.

An analysis of the comments by parents indicates that they feel teachers too often don't care about the children and see teaching just as a job, that schools are based on an alien value system, that school personnel are concerned primarily with maintaining themselves, that children are classified for the convenience of the school rather than the good of the children, and that programs are predicated upon an expectation of failure.

Teachers and administrators blame the home, lack of parental concern and motivation for the failures and discipline problems of the children.

Dr. Prince and the CCP held that this discrepancy in view results from cultural differences. These differences, though not in themselves the causes of school failure, result in faltering communication. The lack of communication sets the stage for the misunderstanding, resentment, hostility and lack of respect reflected in the above comments. This is the ultimate cause of many inner city school problems.

The program that Dr. Prince and the Consortium of Community Groups had

developed to ameliorate this basic problem, stressed educating the school. By the school they meant not just teachers and administrators but the entire school community, including parents and others in the neighborhood served by the particular school. This approach contrasted to the compensatory education models on which many of the state and federal programs in the schools were based. This program was not predicated on the notion that children are inadequately socialized, that they have a deprived home life or are culturally inferior. Instead, the focus was on educating the school personnel to see the strengths inner city children bring with them. Emphasis was to be placed on encouraging the teachers and the administrators to begin thinking about ways to include parents in decision making in the school, and so, to take advantage of their abilities and knowledge. At the same time parents were to be trained to more effectively participate in the education of their children.

The program, as submitted to NIE and eventually approved for funding, was to begin at the end of June 1974 and proceed in two phases through June 1977. The first phase would end December 31, 1975. For each of these phases the organization of the project and its program objectives are discussed briefly.

The next chapter analyzes in more detail what happened in the attempts to meet these program objectives, and the reasons for the organizational changes that took place. This section is intended to sketch the implementation of the project and set the stage for a more detailed analysis.

Phase I

Organization

The general overseeing of the project was the responsibility of Dr. Prince and his colleague at the Metropolitan Community Health Center, Dr. Howard Matthews, who were co-principal investigators. Each of them, however, planned to spend only 25 percent of their time actually involved in project activities.

The major policy and decision-making unit of the project was to be a board of directors.[1] The board, representing all of the major constituencies involved in the CCP, would ". . .have at least one monthly meeting to review the progress of the grant and to assist in meeting NIE's guidelines. In addition, it shall deal with staff (selection and continuation), confidentiality and information, relationships with the school board, and human subject experimentation. The board of directors will review and approve all reports to be issued." (Response to Proposal, Clarifications) With each group to be represented on the board using its own means of selection, the board was targeted to be completed by the end of July 1974.

The final composition of the board of directors was as follows:

Two members from the Black Education Commission.

One representative from among the teachers at each of the target schools.

The principals at each of the two target schools.

Chairperson of the Parent/Advisory Council for each target school.

[1] No board was included in the original proposal. The principal investigators decided, during contract negotiations, that this would be a means to bring representatives of the various school constituencies into the decision-making process.

One representative of the Consortium of Community Groups which had been identified and asked to participate by Dr. Prince.

The two co-principal investigators.

Two parents-at-large.

The rationale for including most of these constituencies is clear. Several of the parents-at-large representatives, including Harriet Evans and Gertrude Bass, were chosen from among the community activists who had been working with Mr. Sam Henry, who became project director. At least two of the parents serving as members of the board of directors did not have children in either of the two schools. The importance of this will be discussed later.

The Afro-American School Development Council has already been mentioned. It is a community advisory arm of the San Andreas Board of Education and is composed of 150 Black parents representing most of the schools in the urban community. Sam Henry and several of the parents who were to become active in the CCP were members of this council with Mr. Henry serving as one of the tri-chairpersons.

The Parent Advisory Councils at both of the elementary schools had been in existence as long as the schools had participated in Title I programs. The Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended in 1974 provides:

> That the local education agency established an advisory council for the entire school district and shall establish an advisory council for each school for such agency served by a program project assisted under section 143 (A) (2), each of which advisory councils:
>
> a. as the majority of its members
>
> b. is composed of members selected by the parents in each attendance area.

c. has been given responsibility by such agency advising it and planning for, implementation and evaluation of, such programs and projects, and

d. this provided by such agency, in accordance with regulations of the commissioner, with access to appropriate information concerning such programs and projects. (Title I, ESE Act, 1974).

P.S. 461 and P.S. 656 had constituted such advisory councils. The chairperson at P.S. 461 was Mrs. Gertrude Bass, and by virtue of her position she became a member of the board of directors at CCP. The chairperson at P.S. 656 was Mrs. Joan Daley. The Consortium of Community Groups was represented by Dr. Steven Hirhoff, who was also written into the CCP project for 25 percent of his time as a research analyst. The Consortium was composed of the Matthew Henson Medical Center; Department of Psychiatry, the Benjamin Banecker Hospital (located in the general area of the schools); the Metropolitan Mental Health Center, which was also the regional contractor; the Davis Research and Development Center, a research center attached to the Department of Psychiatry of Matthew Henson Medical Center and supported by National Institute of Mental Health to develop strategies for urban mental health; the Cook High School Project, located on the campus of Cook High School and designed to develop programs for child development, parent relations, and training and educational leadership; the School Funding Review Project, located at a nearby university and sponsored by a major foundation to carry on research on the system of funding education in the state, was a "think tank," specializing in mental health research in the urban community. Each of these organizations, or representatives of them had helped Dr. Prince in his earlier activities in the schools and had indicated a willingness to support the CCP project.

The first task of the newly constituted board of directors was to

examine applications for, and hire, the project director and a teacher trainer for the project. A number of applications were received for these two positions and several candidates were selected for interviews. After these finalists were interviewed by the board of directors the list was prioritized in order of choice so that offers could be made to them. Mr. Sam Henry was hired to be the project director, even though, according to several members of the board of directors, he was not the first or second choice. The director was to devote 100 percent of his time to the project during this three-year tenure in the schools. He had on-line responsibility for implementing the program's objectives and was responsible to the board of directors for day-to-day program activities. As mentioned briefly before, Mr. Henry had been active in the schools for some time, being a member of the Afro-American School Development Council and participating in the School Funding Review Project. He also was instrumental in conceptualizing and writing the original grant proposal. The board selected Miss Barbara Johnson to be the first teacher trainer in the project.

Upon selection of the project director and teacher trainer, parent consultants were hired. These were to be key members of the project staff, who would be carefully trained and encouraged to serve as a resource person working with other parents from the school community. Seven parent consultants were selected, three each from the target school communities. A committee composed of members of the target school administration and Parent Advisory Council was given the task of selecting the three parent consultants from each school site. The consultants-at-large are selected by the CCP board of directors. It should be noted that the board of directors selected Mrs. Evans to be the parent-at-large consultant.

The employment of parent consultants was a key provision of CCP policy. In most cases where parent involvement is desired and needed in the schools, there are no funds to train them for their jobs, nor are salaries allocated to them. On the other hand, teachers and administrators are paid for their training which usually takes place during school hours and is part of the school staff's professional activities. Since the two-fold thrust of the project was to train both parents and school staffs this funding disparity was very obvious. To obviate this inequity, and also, to enhance the project's prospects of success in working with parents, CCP decided to pay the parent consultants on a half-time basis.

Programmatic Objectives

The original funding proposal listed one major and three secondary program objectives. The major objective was "...to make the school as a social system responsive to the needs of the child." This will be discussed in some detail in this section. The secondary program objectives were: 1) to improve the problem-solving strategies of the school; 2) to extend the treatment and evaluation models being developed; and 3) to develop a manual for teachers and a manual for parents.

The major objective, that of making the school a social system responsive to the needs of the child, was subdivided into four specific tasks. These were:

a. To locate sub-entities within the system (administration, parents, teachers, children, community, etc.)

b. To help these sub-entities to define their parent roles and view them against expanded roles.

c. To train sub-entities in areas where they are deficient in light of the identified expanded roles.

d. Bring additional community and/or expert resources to bear on the school social system. (Continuation Proposal, 1975)

The original plan was to implement these objectives in order. A series of meetings was planned with administrators, parent representatives and teacher representatives to explain the objectives. These were to be followed by small group meetings of school staff and small group meetinsg of parents during which time they themselves would identify what they considered to be the major sub-entities in the school communities which had impact on student welfare. Once these sub-entities were identified they would be asked to meet and would engage in examination of their present roles and at the same time see how these roles could be expanded and improved to the advantage of the educational needs of children. Once this was done and areas of deficiency or ignorance were identified, then specific training programs for the staff, parents and other sub-entities would be designed and implemented. These activities were to have started in the fall of 1974 and were to be preceded, during the summer, by an intensive training program for parent consultants.

The actual implementation took a different shape. Due to logistical problems in getting started, the summer training program for parents had to be put off until the fall. Primary contacts were made with the school staff as scheduled during the early part of the fall semester. Small group sessions were held at both schools for the purpose of identifying the relevant sub-entities to be worked with throughout the project. The criteria used for identifying the groups were based on how the groups met the specific

needs of children's intellectual growth. However, there was little discussion of these issues. A great deal of time was spent in exploring and discussing the realities of organizational life and political control in schools. After several of these sessions, it was decided to begin the training sessions with the three major subgroups that were clearly visible, that is, administrators, teachers and aides, and parents. The goal of identifying other less formal subgroupings was put off until some time later in the project.

Due to the unexpected negative reactions and some hostile attitudes on the part of staff, which will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter, the other three activities, those of role examination, extended role definition, and general training were combined into a continuous series of workshops rather than being addressed separately and in order. Furthermore, as these workshops progressed, a still more significant change had to be made. The CCP staff discovered that participants were resistant to efforts to get them to talk about what they had identified as the real issues in role clarification. It was therefore decided after five sessions to focus attention on substantive training issues that could be addressed by the CCP staff and outside consultants, leaving the task of role definition and expansion to be dealt with incidentally as it might arise.

In these workshops, the three groups met separately to be trained in skills and attitudes deemed critical to each. Of the three, the administrator workshops had to be modified the most from the original plans. Administrators frequently did not agree with the problems that the project leaders had identified, nor did they feel free to openly discuss and explore their roles. Nevertheless, during this first phase of the project, four

workshop sessions were conducted at each of the school sites, the major goal of which was to help administrators see the importance of developing the school as a social system where the well-being of the child is the central concern.

Teacher Training

At the beginning of the academic year, a series of workshop sessions for teachers and teacher aides was conducted by the project director and the teacher trainer, who, during this first academic year, was Ms. Barbara Johnson. Fourteen of these workshop sessions were heldp with an attempt made during the first eight to meet the original project objectives of helping teachers define their roles and see what their expanded roles could be. In effect, however, a great deal of time was spent in dealing with day-to-day problems that teachers were facing with children. After the eight initial sessions it was decided to build the remainder around a variety of outside consultant resources, dealing with topics identified by teachers or CCP staff and to invite both school staffs and parents to participate.

Among the topics covered in these workshops were: parents' rights, conducted by a well-known activist lawyer in the city who had filed a number of lawsuits for parents over the use of Title I funds; nutrition and health, presented by a physician from the Benjamin Banecker Hospital; school attendance of inner-city children, by Dr. Prince from the Metropolitan Mental Health Center; child abuse, by a member of the San Andreas Police force; budgeting in Title I schools; testing and test bias for inner city children, by a child psychologist who has been doing work in that area; and a session on drug abuse, by a school nurse, just to name a few. In addition, both

Dr. Prince and Dr. Matthew, the co-principal investigators, did a number of workshops on topics related to cultural discontinuity and child growth and development.

In addition to these series of workshops for staff, the teacher trainer was available on a full time basis for teachers or other staff members, who needed her services either directly or as a conduit to some other resource.

A number of teachers and administrators in the schools apparently felt that these first-year activities were useful and helpful to them. One of the staff at P.S. 461 said:

> The first person (teacher trainer), a woman named Johnson, did a relatively good job. When she started out, she started getting people to come in and get in-service training to teachers about the problems she conceived inner city children face in our area. That was my first year here...She brought in doctors, psychologists, probation people, that kind of thing and they were helpful.

Parent consultants seemed to share this view that the staff training session was doing a good job during this first year of the project. One of the parent consultants summed up the impact of the training:

> The teacher trainers...they really did something. You could see they were beginning to talk to parents, to talk to teachers. Before, the parents blamed the teachers and the teachers blamed the parents. We were getting real close in those sessions. I think they did a lot of good.

These positive feelings notwithstanding, the teacher training sessions were not without some serious problems. The sessions had been planned by the CCP for two purposes. First, they were to educate teachers about important issues related to their jobs and secondly, they were to get teachers to begin thinking about initiating new problem-solving strategies themselves, to make suggestions to the appropriate school personnel so that action could be taken when problems arose.

With respect to this latter purpose the CCP staff found teachers reluctant to identify problems in the school. The CCP staff and teachers disagree as to the reason for this reluctance and for the small amount of progress made in pursuit of this program objective. These different perceptions will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. By the end of the first year of the project the teacher trainer had decided to resign due to a controversy with the director over her credentials.

During the summer of 1975 a new teacher trainer was hired to replace the one who had resigned. The new teacher trainer had excellent credentials and was highly respected by the teachers and administrators of the schools. During the fall of 1975, as Phase I came to a close, she and the Project Director continued providing services, frequently in the form of workshops for teachers, administrators and to some extent for parents in the target schools.

The changing of the teacher trainer was only one of the problems to confront the project at the end of the 1974-75 school year. In addition, as part of San Andreas' school integration plan, a massive teacher transfer took place throughout the entire system. This transfer did not have a great effect on P.S. 461 where only four or five teachers were transferred out and others brought in to replace them. However, at P.S. 656 approximately 15 teachers were transferred out and new ones brought in. This represented nearly half of the regular classroom teaching staff at the school.

The constituents of CCP saw this as a major setback in their plans since they felt that the teachers who were transferred out tended to be those most affected by their workshops, in-service and other training efforts. School personnel, on the other hand, countered this contention

saying that most of the school staff involved in the CCP project were not classroom teachers and that the teacher transfer itself had negligible impact on the project. They contended that problems encountered during the second year of operation were the result of a lack of effort, or the wrong kind of effort, on the part of the CCP staff.

Parent Involvement and Training

The major functions of the parent consultants, according to the CCP continuation proposal to NIE, were "the identification of parents and individuals to participate in parent workshops and to become actively involved in the school's program." The seven parent consultants hired had histories of varying degrees of active participation. The training program designed for these parent consultants was based on the broadest number of issues that could be anticipated for the implementation of this role. Parent consultants were expected to talk with uninvolved parents about the role in the school, recruit parents for school volunteer programs, etc. The actual parent training sessions did not get started until November 1974. The training dealt with such topics as small group methods and strategies, how and why children succeed, how and why children fail, problems confronting urban schools, and new and more fulfilling roles for parents in the schools. During the training sessions and immediately afterwards, parent consultants began an effort to attempt to contact all parents in the two school districts. A number of approaches were tried including the development of a telephone tree, door-to-door organizing, and the mailing of announcements and descriptive literature. In all, more than 400 families were contacted by the parent consultants. These parents were invited to a series of workshops conducted by the CCP. The workshops covered a variety

of topics with the emphasis being placed on definitions of parenting, the provision of information which increased the parents' awareness of child development, school and school participation, and some of the general problems of the family responsibility in meeting the educational needs of children in the cities.

An assessment of the success of the parent training efforts is beyond the scope of this paper. There is a difference in perceptions of its impact between CCP project staff, including parent consultants, and the school staffs. As has been already noted, P.S. 461 had a history of strong parent and community involvement in school activities before the project. Whatever the historical antecedents may have been, CCP felt that the administration at P.S. 656 did not actively encourage the kind of parent participation that was desired and which was forthcoming at P.S. 461, although one teacher at P.S. 656 indicated that the "growth" in parent consultants was remarkable. Coincidental with the first year of CCP activity. P.S. 461 experienced an increase in the number of volunteers working in the Early Childhood Education program and a decrease in absenteeism on the part of students. The CCP staff feel that this was in large part due to their efforts in working with parents. The school staff feel however, that CCP had little or nothing to do with this, and that it was a result of new initiatives on their own part.

Evaluation Activities

In the original grant proposal the CCP staff had planned to do an in-house evaluation of the first phase of the project using both informal observational data and more formal questionnaires and pretesting. As it worked out, the evaluation was not limited and consisted of the informal

reactions of staff as they participated in the program and of an open-ended questionnaire to assess the needs that teachers, teacher aides, administrators, principals, and parents thought should be addressed by the project. The responses to the questionnaire were, for the most part, general and contained no surprises. Everyone in the group felt that there was a need to improve traditional instruction, to improve student services, and to increase parent participation in the schools. These were all issues that were being addressed by the workshops.

As a result of these responses CCP distributed another questionnaire designed to get more specific suggestions from the school community and offering to put together a consulting team of resource persons who would work extensively in the school and address these specific problems. This questionnaire was placed in staff mailboxes and mentioned at several meetings but there was no response to it. The CCP staff contended that this lack of response was due to school personnel feeling that as "professionals" they really needed little or no assistance. There was some evidence that toward the end of Phase I this attitude may have changed somewhat in that the school staff did from time to time request specific services from CCP which it attempted to provide.

Looking Ahead to Phase II

Due to these factors, the CCP shifted its emphasis significantly during the second year of operation. In its efforts with the school staffs it virtually abandoned its goal of getting administrators, teachers and teacher aides to redefine and expand their roles and concentrated on offering technical help to meet the day-to-day problems that were being faced. In its work with parents less attention was placed on educating them about the

characteristics of children or the problem of parenting, and more attention was focused instead on teaching them their rights as parents and on showing them how to challenge the educational system and its decisions.

Organization

The planned changes in emphasis and activities resulting from the Phase I experience were reflected in the Phase II proposal for the period from January 1, 1976 to June 1977. One new goal was added to the four articulated at the beginning of Phase I. That was "develop means/networks for the sharing and dissemination of information and materials pertinent to improving the educational program and problem solving." (Continuation Proposal, page 24)

An expanded list of program objectives was drawn up. These were:

1. Continuation of training for parents, teachers and administrators using a variety of techniques such as workshops, seminars and conferences.

2. Conduct small problem-solving sessions again using a variety of techniques explored during Phase I.

3. Publication of teachers and parents handbooks or manuals.

4. Develop and operationalize a revised and ongoing needs assessment process using problem-solving sessions involving teachers, parents and administrators.

5. Conduct an urban specialist program, based on contemporary educational issues and needs identified in Phase I, leading to certificates and college course credits in cooperation with a local college.

6. Dissemination of information in a newsletter and networking with other educational groups.

7. Establishment of information resources via solicitation and offers of donated time and material.

8. A community education conference series for individuals and groups who are interested.

9. A continued evaluation using a variety of evaluation techniques. (Continuation Proposal, 1975)

The CCP planned to complete these activities during the 1976 calendar year and then devote the first six months of 1977 to finalizing its strategies, providing feedback to the sites based on their findings, and exploring ways to institutionalize the model in the schools. Although it was expected that there might be some need to continue the CCP presence in the schools after June 1977 an attempt would be made to withdraw the major support staff and direct the majority of efforts to further development of vehicles within the system.

To facilitate these processes a new project structure was developed and implemented in the schools. Basic to this restructuring was the notion that representatives from all segments of the school community should serve in each problem-solving group. To this end three committees were set up: an administrative, a pedagogical, and a family lifestyle committee for each school. The administrative committee included the principal, vice principal, guidance counselor, opportunity teacher, resource coordinator, one classroom teacher, the Parent Advisory Council chairman, the PTA chairperson and a community person. The pedagogical committee was composed of the faculty chairperson in each school, the first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth grade teachers, an administrative representative, a Parent Advisory Council representative, a PTA representative and a community person. The family life-style committee was to be composed of a Parent Advisory Council chairperson, the PTA chairperson, four parents, one administrative representative, and two teaching staff representatives.

Each of these problem-solving groups was to meet regularly and to begin raising the critical questions that they felt needed attention in the schools. Each problem that was raised was to be examined to see if everyone

shared the same sort of feelings about it and to determine what data were necessary to find a solution to it. This process was designed to deal not only with pedagogical variables but psycho-social processes, and attitudes of school personnel. Early on attempts were made for each of these committees to meet, and each of them, in prioritizing the issues to be dealt with, put discipline at the head with parent involvement not far behind.

Midway into the process of getting the committee activity underway attendance at the administrative and pedagogical committee meetings dropped and finally they stopped meeting. It was at this time that the transfer of teachers under the federally mandated plan for integrating school staffs throughout the San Andreas Unified School District was announced. The effect of this order was traumatic to school staffs who had to devote considerable amounts of their time and energy to dealing with the changes. This is probably the reason many of the staff put at the head of their list of issues their own personal career concerns. Thus, the defined priority issues became much less pressing. The school staff tell a slightly different version of the demise of the administrative and pedagogical committees. They claimed that the integration order probably had little, or no real effect, on the group of participants and that the real problem was a lack of serious effort on the part of the CCP staff.

The family lifestyle committees, composed mostly of parents, continued to meet. While they were concerned with the issues of staff integration and teacher transfers, since the core of these committees were parents who were going to be staying in the community, they spent most of their energies looking at the priority issues of discipline and parent involvement in the school. The committees gave a great deal of time to bringing together

diverse community groups such as the Parent Teacher Association, parent advisory groups and community clubs for discussions of their roles in school programs and through their workshops to develop a sense of confidence on the part of community members of their capabilities and responsibilities in defining the child's educational needs. Concurrent with, and undoubtedly related to, the demise of the pedagogical and administrative committee activities toward the end of Phase II, two critical events occurred. The principal at P.S. 656 who had generally supported the CCP in her school, although frequently at odds with some of the specific objectives and activities, left to assume an administrative post in sub-district three. In addition, the second teacher trainer, Dr. Hart, resigned her position. The new principal, who took over at the beginning of the 1976 fall semester at P.S. 656, found himself preoccupied with familiarizing himself with his job, dealing with the staff integration issue which resulted in a 50% turnover in his teaching staff and so could devote little time or attention to the CCP project. It was decided to split the training activities and to hire two teacher trainers, one for each school. Neither elicited the respect that the first two had developed, and generally both kept a low profile.

Phase III Addendum

The Phase III funded proposal was considered to be an addendum to Phase II. This was to be in effect the period of winding down, analyzing the results of efforts and preparing final reports. For the most part, during Phase III the CCP staff absented themselves entirely from the school. Exceptions were the teacher trainers who did spend some time there making themselves available as they were needed to teachers and staff. The family lifestyle committee continued to meet, but concerned itself primarily with

ways to counter what they saw as a negative effect of the teacher transfers in the two schools.

Although it had been originally hoped that new sources of funding would be sought to continue the project after the end of the NIE grant, none were forthcoming and in June 1977 the project formally ended. The final report summarizing the effect of the project, the teacher manual and the parent manual were still in preparation.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to sketch very briefly the original goals, objectives and strategies of the project. The project was very briefly traced through its three years in an attempt to highlight some of the unexpected developments and explain the modifications that took place. Several examples were given of the different perceptions of the project on the part of project staff and school staff. The significance of these developments will be analyzed more fully in the next chapter.

What has emerged with clarity in this discussion is the fact that the project as it finally developed was a very different thing from what was originally conceptualized and planned. The precise reasons for this transformation are not so clear. In addition there was a decided split between project participants and school staff about the success of the project.

CHAPTER III: SOME EXPLANATIONS

Introduction

The Cultural Continuity Project in Urban Education started as an unusually promising urban education intervention strategy. The proposed project was not a "bandaid" approach to the problem of quality education for urban minority children. Its premise, that the basic cause of school failure is a conflict of culture between school and students, is a respected theoretical stance that considers underlying issues about schooling and school improvement. Dr. Prince brought a profound understanding of the practical implications of this premise which resulted from his experience in schools, and his genuine sensitivity to the feelings, fears, and struggles of school staff.

The proposed CCP strategy was not to play it safe by treating some of the symptoms but was a comprehensive design to get at the heart of the problem. This comprehensiveness had several dimensions. The entire school community was seen as a context to be addressed. Both the personal and organizational needs of the school community were to receive attention. Both substantive and strategic issues were to be dealt with. Internal and external resources were to be uncovered, developed, and brought to bear on the problems at hand.

School and community personnel who had worked with Dr. Prince as the idea germinated and grew, enthusiastically welcomed the project. This enthusiasm was translated into help in writing the proposal, offers of office space, word-of-mouth advertising, provision of school time staff development, and other facilitating gestures.

As the project unfolded over the three years, it did not meet the high

expectation for it of its participants, including the project's authors, NIE, or the school communities. Enthusiasm waned and for some turned to resistance. Program objectives and goals were greatly modified and in many cases abandoned altogether. The hope for changes in organizational response to educational needs did not materialize, at least not in the forms anticipated.

It is inappropriate and dysfunctional to conclude from this that the project was a failure. No measures exist for assessing the lasting effect of an approach designed to deal with the numbers and types of issues addressed by the CCP. Even if such measures existed, more time would be required to make judgments. It is clear that neither the project staff nor the school personnel approached the experience with malevolent intent. In fact, reactions and feelings evoked by the effort witnessed more to the strong dedication of participants.

It is appropriate to examine the project's history with the hope of learning from its experience. Because of the strength of the original plans, their examination should be productive in further understanding the difficulties that face those who seek to improve urban schools.

Explanatory Themes

The CCP experience provides vivid support for the validity of its underlying premises, that the culture of its schools and the community (here read the CCP) are so different and so in conflict as to make communication between representatives of the two groups difficult. The CCP had to face, in its implementation, the dysfunctional conditions it was trying to ameliorate for minority children in the urban schools.

The basic premise of the CCP runs counter to the conventional wisdom underlying the compensatory eduational approaches in vogue in the educational establishment and, indeed, underlying many of the programs in place in P.S. 461 and P. S. 565. Furthermore, this posture led to a set of perceptions on the part of the TAG that was drastically different from those of the schools. These differences posed hindrances to communication and careful mutual exploration of key problems; they also gave rise to each group seeing the strategies of action of the other as inappropriate.

While this difference in perceptions is a prime explanation for the difficulties experienced by the project, there are several other themes which also will be discussed. These are:

1. The constant tension between the CCP's desire to address structural and organizational issues and the teachers' immediate daily needs.

2. The attempt to fuse the strategic concerns of political activists with substantive educational program changes.

3. The importance of personal and professional characteristics of project leaders to the effectiveness of the TAG's relationship to the schools.

4. The unanticipated effects of the outside mandated staff integration on the TAG effort.

Each of these themes, including the varied perceptions, represents an important set of issues that emerged as the two organizations, the CCP and the schools, maneuvered to find in the other, resources to support its own view and structure. It appears that these issues are not at all unique to the CCP experience. Rather these are, in some form, universal issues in the business of providing technical assistance to urban schools.

Differing Perceptions of the Work of the Project between TAG and School Staff

To attempt even a description, to say nothing of an explanatory analysis, of participant perceptions in a project involving so many individuals and groups as those active in the CQP is a complex task. To some extent each individual, and certainly the groups (administrators, parents, teachers and the project directorship), all saw things differently. However, in light of the clear differences of opinion that exist with respect to the substance and value of the project's results, an attempt to look at some of these differences and the events that triggered or uncovered them is instructive. The greatest gulf seems to exist between the school staffs and the TAG, the latter including parent consultants. Therefore, at the risk of glossing over some important intra-group differences, the issues discussed here are treated as school staff versus TAG staff phenomena.

That a school and TAG would exhibit drastically differing ways of perceiving is neither unexpected nor, per se, an insurmountable barrier to meaningful interaction. The reality of a school sub-culture consisting of a shared set of cognitive orientations, perceptual strategies, norms, values and beliefs, and into which people are carefully socialized, is generally accepted. This sub-culture explains much of the initial differences and perceptions that emerged during the project's tenure.

Specifically the teachers' and administrators' concern for defending a posture of professionalism, and the sometimes conflicting school ethos of "individualism, presentism and conservatism" identified by Lortie (1977)*

Lortie, Dan. "An Explanation of Urban School Structure and Teacher Professionalism," unpublished, DTA mss. 1977.

manifest themselves in the CCP experience. This was seen in the problems school people had with the credentials of teacher trainers and the project director, in their resistance to CCP definitions of their problems or recommended solutions, in their insistence that the project provide immediately consumable services and their desire that the CCP develop a presence in the school as an identifiable program.

The differences that developed during the project, however, were more than simply those inevitably characteristic of school sub-cultures interacting with a typical academic or research oriented TAG. For one thing, although the TAG strategy was predicated upon the recognition of the conflict between the ways the schools and the community saw things by hiring parent consultants and working very intensely with them, the TAG staff came to be integrally identified with the community. This, predictably, created a problem for the school personnel who were unable to view the TAG as a neutral purveyor of knowledge, or facilitator of attitude change, working equally for both parties.

Whatever the source--subcultural membership, or reaction to project developments--the conflicting perspectives grew continuously, culminating in views about the overall success of the project. However, it is interesting to note that during the last semester of the project the assistant principal of P.S. 461 distributed a questionnaire to school staff. They were asked the following questions among others not related to the CCP. "Our three-year association with the CCP ends this June. Shall we continue our association with the project?" Underneath there were places to check yes or no and room for comments. Of the 25 questionnaires returned, only one respondent indicated that he or she thought the project should be continued.

Most of the other 24 who did not feel that a continuing association would be worthwhile offered comments indicating why. Many of them said something to the effect that the project had not given any help, did not obtain any results, was ineffective, hadn't done a thing for the school, had been a negative rather than a positive influence.

This contrasted sharply with the assessment offered by the project staff in their proposal for Phase III funding. They say:

> ...some of the objectives had to be set back and were not obtained as quickly as anticipated, and in some instances closure was not reached on certain problem-solving strategies. However, despite the setbacks, integration provided the acid test to determine the stability and viability of the problem-solving vehicles we had heretofore established in the target schools. For the most part we believe they have weathered the test. (Phase III, Continuation Proposal)

These differences constitute a major explanation for the quality and amount of participation in the project by the school staffs and parents. The differences were manifest throughout but most tellingly in three areas crucial to the project's success: 1) in the definition of parental involvement in children's education, 2) in understanding the project's motives and objectives, and 3) in the interpretation of staffing decisions.

The Definitions of Parental Involvement in Schools

A major stated objective of the CCP was "to work out strategies to mobilize total school and community resources to meet the needs of elementary school children." One of these strategies was to increase the level of participation by parents in the education of their children. This was a justification for the recruitment and training of parent consultants as well as the workshops planned and conducted for parents.

The involvement of parents in their children's elementary education is,

of course, neither new nor unique to the CCP. Both schools in the project had PTAs, although they were relatively inactive. The board of education, as well as several of the Title I programs in which the schools participated, required functioning parent advisory councils and, a number of teachers on their own, had a history of recruiting parent volunteers especially for special occasions such as field trips. Both the CCP staff and the school staffs enthusiastically endorsed the notion that parents should be encouraged and trained to more effectively participate in their children's education. However, as the project unfolded it became increasingly clear that the schools' and the CCP's staffs differed significantly in their ideas about what appropriate parental involvement meant.

For school people, appropriate parental involvement meant that the home environment would be constructed in such a way as to support what the teachers were attempting to do in the school. Parents should discipline their children, see that they attended school, and respond to notes or reports that were sent home to them. Most school people did welcome parental presence at the school since they could perform a valuable service as volunteers and could see what was being done first hand, thus, being in a position to support it. However, most school people did not believe that parents should take an active role in making decisions about budgets, teaching methods or other "school" practices.

Parents saw their potential role, in supporting their children's education, as keeping the school people honest. They, for the most part, wanted to have some substantial input into what went on in the schools themselves, making sure that their perspectives and values were not contradicted by

school people. We are speaking, of course, of the parents who are active in the project, primarily parent consultants. Many of the parents in the two school communities took very little active interest in what went on in school and their apathy was a cause for concern for both the CCP staff and the schools.

While the parent training sessions of the CCP were designed to aid parents in the general task of parenting, a major thrust was to apprise them of their rights as parents, and to mobilize the community as a presence in the schools to insure that children were getting a useful education. This emphasis, coupled with the attempts of several parent consultants to take an active role in influencing school administrators to make personnel changes and budget allocations, contributed to the school staffs' suspicion that parents were more interested in sharing power than in cooperating with teachers.

A school administrator clearly articulated his view of the conflict:

> There was argument, basically over who was going to control the school. Frankly, if parents ever get in the position where they just dictate the school it's going to fall apart. Because you can't tell a teacher how to teach something. What materials do you use you don't know yourself? I think that parents' role in school is advising us on what they want taught and they can bring up things they would like to see implemented but the implementation must be left in the hands of professionals.

One of the teachers at P.S. 561 expressed something of the same concern with respect to the role of the parent advisory councils. She said:

> One of the problems with the advisory group was the school itself had another idea of what advisory would detail. Whenever guidelines were pulled out it seemed that any and everyone could support their statement by looking at the guidelines, and sometimes they were opposite statements or ridiculous statements. There was one the teachers felt quite adamantly against, and that was the statement that the advisory council could decide upon the certification of elected teacher members.

The same teacher decried the fact that it was difficult to get parents actively involved in the nitty-gritty day-to-day activities of the schools. She blamed the problem on the target consultants who spent their time confronting teachers and arguing about petty details.

> There were only the same few parents--maybe five or six, and actually, not the parents of the children who were in school. The involvement heightened at certain times and there was an issue, someone doing something that was wrong, everybody jumped on the bandwagon but when it was time to do the day-to-day work of volunteering and working on committees, there were the same people...however, because of their militancy, they were not acceptable, in some cases, to other people. It was unfortunate...it is very difficult to get people to want to work in that situation.
>
> The idea was that when there was a hot issue, parents would be brought in and they were turned off by all this arguing and not being able to settle simple little things. If a teacher was having trouble in the classroom, three or four parents would walk in the next day after a meeting and sit down there all day and do nothing else but watch the teacher. Now, okay, you can come in and visit and if your child is involved in a situation with a problem with me or the class or anything, come and visit. Let's talk about it. But they never did that. There was never any communication, only intimidation...
>
> And then they picked on certain people that they didn't want, never people who were not strong teachers, it was people who didn't like the way they handled things, people who were vocal.

In summary, a major issue in the CCP project was the differing perceptions of what was appropriate parent involvement in children's education between project staff and parents. Parents wanted an active role in the schooling of their children, including sharing decision-making power. The school felt that parents could best support the school goals in the home environment and in the school by volunteering to help teachers and to offer advice. Partly, at least, as a result of these differences, teachers tended to withdraw their support from the program, which they saw as a

threat to their professionalism. No apparent changes were reported in the level of parent activity in the classrooms or, in classroom procedures related to parent involvement. These circumstances resulted in a change in program strategy toward the end of the project.

Understanding of the Motives and Goals of the Project

Another area in which significant differences of perception existed between CCP staff and school staff was in the understanding of what the project was all about and how it fit into the ongoing school program. Specifically, school personnel were oriented toward CCP as a program and wanted it to have a clear identity, a clear purpose, and a clear place in the school's structure. The CCP was more interested, at least on paper, with end results, than with establishing itself as another school program. Its goal was to work with existing structures, perhaps altering them where necessary, as an integral part of the school, not as an adjunct to it.

While these differing perceptions of what the program was designed to be had many facets, it was summed up as follows by the project director:

> Probably one of the principal misconceptions of the program, from the very beginning, was that it was going to be a program that was going to increase parental participation in the schools. That was how most people perceived us as a program. They didn't see us doing much with teachers. They didn't see us doing too much with school administrators, and almost immediately that was the one thing they seized on. You're going to get all those parents here to the school, when are you going to turn them out? Are we going to have this large attendance at meetings and all that...there's a syndrome within schools in terms of maximizing the number of programs that I have operating. It's another feather in my cap if I have such-and-such a program at my school.

The principal at P.S. 656 seems to obliquely support the project director's analysis. She claimed that in the beginning:

> The thrust was to get our parents in and get other parents involved at every level of communication. It was very definite. We had parent training sessions along with paraprofessionals, along with the staff.

Then she goes on to express her frustration at developments which took place later in which the program became much less clear and the goals much less definite. In her words.

> The new ruling came through and when I went through it, I wasn't really quite sure what was to be expected. We ended up with a new structure where we were to have fancy kinds of groupings in the schools operating. We could never clearly define memberships for the committees in order to make them effective. We knew who the administrative group was because we could understand that, but we weren't quite sure of some of the other terms, so it began to make a problem. All of a sudden everybody had other meetings that they had to attend. It affected the way we worked...we could never get it straight operationally, so we couldn't pull it off. And I'm sure that we got no more real staff involvement because of this.

Mrs. Johnson was referring to the committee structure instituted as a part of the Phase II project. As indicated above at this juncture, the project directors decided that they would establish a structure more coterminus with the schools. The goal of this change was to overcome some of the earlier resistance that had been encountered and to provide a means for more effective communication across de facto school groupings. Some of the effects of this change include:

1) loss of clear project identity for school participants;

2) Some of the school staff felt the project was asking them to do things they had already done:

> The project wanted us to set up a staff--a line staff relationship among our staff that we'd already established. That's when the project fizzled--because they wanted us to do what we had done already, and we weren't about to do it over for them. (Teacher, P.S. 461)

3) Some school staff began to see COP as taking more credit for things than the school staff thought they deserved.

The vice principal at P.S. 461 made this point:

> It was going to be a group who was going to come in and help us support for the benefit of the school...the idea was that they would train parents. They would go out

> into the community and elicit parental support and participation in school activities and they wrote into their reports claiming that they had done that. They are not honest people...the second thing was, they put in their report that they had helped with attendance problems in the school and that was a falsehood because if there's anything which has been done about attendance, Sophia Merlino (the school counselor) has done it.

In summary, the CCP staff saw the goals of the program to be that of working with existing school structures, to define and expand their roles in meeting the educational needs of children, and to bridge the gap that existed between the school subculture and the community. The school, on the other hand, perceived CCP as a program designed to increase parental support of school activities. When these latter expectations were not met, the program was judged as ineffective and was critized for taking credit for things for which it was not really responsible.

Interpretations of Staff Hiring and Changes

Another significant area of differences between the CCP and school staffs in the development of the project was in interpreting the meaning of staff hiring and firing. When the original proposal was written, the staffs at both schools enthusiastically supported the project. They assumed that it would be a continuation of the work that Dr. Prince had started and that he would be the director. However, he was able to devote only one-quarter of his time to the CCP. Therefore, a committee was set up, consisting of members of his staff and at least one of the principals from the target schools, to interview a list of applicants for the job of project director and teacher trainer.

Mrs. Cheryl Johnson, principal at P.S. 656 explained this process:

> From the beginning we knew we had to have a trainer. The job description of the teacher specialist was to work with the teachers and make sure staff development was conducted

> in order to be able to work better with parents. We also knew they had to have a director, so interviews were held for both those positions at 656 and the committee was made up of several people from Prince's staff and myself. We interviewed and after the interviews were over, Sam (Henry) did not come number one, but was hired as the director, much to my surprise. For what other reasons, I do not know. That was done through Prince's staff.

A number of teachers and other school staff, refer to the hiring of Sam Henry to be director as the beginning of a credibility problem for the CCP project. They feel that he was "set up" for the job from the beginning and that the advertisements for applications to be director were simply a charade. At least one teacher voiced the suspicion that there was something political involved, that Henry was hired because of his past political activities. Whether this event was, in fact, the source of teacher reluctance to work with the project, or simply and after the fact explanation for feelings they had, is difficult to determine.

From the project's point of view, the hiring of Henry made good sense. He had been involved in the conceptualization and writing of the original proposal. In his past activities he had demonstrated a concern for the problems of school-community relationships. He had proven himself an able leader and had useful community contacts. Hiring him provided a continuity between the program's conceptualization and its planned implementation that, in theory, should be an asset.

Another hiring decision that was viewed differently by the CCP and school people was the hiring of parent consultants, specifically Mrs. Gertrude Bass and Mrs. Harriet Evans. From the standpoint of the CCP project, their hiring made good sense. It had been planned that the major role of parent consultants would be the mobilization and organization of other parents to work with the schools in the process of their children's

education. Both of these women had been active with Henry in the earlier enterprises described above, had a profound first-hand knowledge of the workings of the school, a number of good solid contacts, time, and a proven ability to be depended upon to get things done. Furthermore, Mr. Sam Henry knew that he could work with them.

From the standpoint of the schools, the hiring of these two was like a red flag. Neither of them had children presently enrolled in the schools. Their past activities were seen as being anti-teacher, and they were remembered more for their confrontations with principals and teachers than for the constructive changes they had brought about. The vice principal at P.S. 461 expressed his opinion quite forcefully.

> Well, people concede that when the project came it was eyed with a fisheye when they hired Gertrude Bass to be in it. She had been involved in a confrontation with this school which Mr. Doan (the principal) was successful in alleviating. She had caused all kinds of hell. There weren't any of us who could have induced them to be overly enthusiastic about the program because they're looking at a person that they didn't trust...time after time they'd say, "If she's here and part of it, we don't want it." Teacher after teacher would say, "If she's going to be there we don't want a thing to do with it because we know her."

While Mrs. Bass' history of confrontation, at least as perceived by the school staff, was one of the major issues in their concern for her being hired, other teachers were upset because she and Mrs. Evans didn't have any children in the school. One went so far as to suggest that the election of Mrs. Bass to the School Advisory Committee was fraudulent and had cost the school Title I funds. From the standpoint of the CCP, hiring parent consultants who were not, in fact, parents enable them to express their belief that the concerned school community should include everyone, parents, residents, businesses and institutions in the neighborhood.

A final set of decisions that demonstrated or led to the different ways of seeing the project on the part of the two sets of participants had to do with the teacher trainer position. At the onset, a Mrs. Barbara Johnson was chosen. After one year she was replaced by Mrs. Frances Hart and during the third year the decision was made to hire two part-time teacher trainers, one for each school. Mrs. Johnson started out under a cloud of suspicion with the school people because it was not clear to them how she was hired. She soon gained the confidence and respect of teachers and administrators in both schools. She made herself readily available for consultation and provided an interesting and useful series of workshops. However, at the end of the first year her services were terminated by CCP.

Before she left it had become apparent to the school staff that some friction had developed between her and the project director. Rumors were strong among the teaching staff that the CCP director had let her go since she was popular with the teachers and was upstaging him in the project. From the project's perspective, she was terminated because she had misrepresented her credentials when she was hired and the project was avoiding a legal problem. Mrs. Hart, who filled the position the second year, was also popular with the teachers. When she quit after one year, the school staff began to express the opinion that the project would not tolerate teacher trainers who were sympathetic to the teachers' position. One of the teachers, in fact, said:

> I don't know what it was, but it seemed that when the staff could get along with a person they were working with, this person somehow left.

By the time the last two teacher trainers were hired the project had already made the decision to disengage from day-to-day school activities to a large extent. Both of these last two were viewed by the school staff as being generally ineffective.

Summary

In this section we have described, by focusing on three sets of events, the differences in perception that existed and grew, during the CCP experience, between school staff and project staff. While these differences may have had their roots in the different subcultural orientations of the respective staffs, they grew and were reinforced as the project developed. The reasons are many. Project objectives were not clearly understood from the very beginning by all the participants. The shift in leadership from Dr. Prince to Mr. Sam Henry had unexpected consequences. The decision to hire people with a record of confrontation was either not understood or not approved by school staff. Somewhere in the project's development a point was reached where even changes made by its directors to respond to problems encountered in the schools were viewed with suspicion by school staff.

While we are not able to do much more than describe the differences in perception here, it is clear that the perceptual rift resulted in CCP being less effective than was hoped for. Further, this pattern of difference in perception is not uncommon in technical assistance work with urban schools.

The Tension between the CCP's Objectives and the Immediate Needs of School Personnel

A second important theme of the CCP experience is the often-noted tension between the immediate needs of school personnel and the often more indirect and general offerings of a technical assistance group. Outsiders to school activities often see the big picture and have accurate, yet abstract ideas about what is wrong in schools. Teachers, on the other hand, find themselves confronted with specific problems each day that have to be

dealt with, and want help that will meet these needs. A perennial bane of technical assistance is the teachers' persistent questions: "What can you give me for Monday morning?" or "What do you suggest I do with Johnny who sits in the front row?" The CCP ran headlong into this dilemma.

From the beginning the CCP saw its role as one of facilitating general underlying problem resolution rather than addressing and resolving specific school problems. For example, the project hoped to assist school and community people to examine, define and explore the possible expansion of their roles. It was not designed to spell out beforehand what those roles were or what they would or could become. CCP also hoped to be able to uncover community resources that would be useful to school and community people in the business of education, but did not see itself primarily as one of those resources. Project leaders, to be sure, were not unaware of the immediate problems faced by teachers and administrators, specifically those of student absenteeism, discipline and low pupil achievement. However, the project's reasoning was that those specific issues could best be resolved by the more indirect approach that they were advocating. If teachers, administrators and parents were able to solve their problems themselves without specific solutions coming for CCP, then the school would be stronger and the quality of education would increase.

From the standpoint of the school staff, there were several pitfalls to this approach. In the first place, the immediate problems were frequently so pressing that it was difficult for teachers and administrators to put them aside and deal with the more abstract issues. Moreover, the request for teachers and administrators to spend time on issues of role clarification, problem delineation and so forth, were seen as something of an

imposition on an already busy schedule. Finally, project leaders' expectation that they should be trusted to lead teachers into more efficient ways of doing their work, even though the teachers felt their credentials were questionable, was seen as an affront to the teachers' professionalism.

As a result, the project staff increasingly found themselves frustrated in their attempts to carry out their original goals, and repeatedly required to provide services that they felt ill-prepared or little motivated to render. This point becomes cleared in considering the following points made by program participants. One of the teachers remarked:

> It seemed like a secret organization. It really seemed as though we couldn't find out what we were here for. We had a number of meetigs where we asked the same question. What are our plans? What are your plans? What do you plan to do? And it came up that they were going to provide speakers to come out and help us understand children, and so forth. In other words, just general kinds of things. They were going to help us understand the community so that we could work with the community closer. It was mostly sort of a staff development kind of thing.

The same teacher went on to suggest that what they needed were services beyond staff development:

> Some type of referral. In other words, when we had trouble in a certain kind of area with a certain kind of child, for instance, we need a certain service. Then resource people should be available for doing that as well as staff development.

The assistant principal at P.S. 461 had equally clear ideas about what the project was there for and what he thought it should be doing:

> They were here to find problems and aggrandize their names, I felt. There are a lot of possibilities because we at the school site are so busy with student problems and other things and just keeping what we got going that many times we do not have the time and energy to invest in bringing in resources which could be helpful. There just aren't enough man hours available. Somebody who could be supportive and wanted to come and help us--make referrals, help us become aware of things we could refer to--could be of great help.

Again, later on, this same administrator remarked, about the kind of services the project should have provided for the parents:

> It was not, by and large, communicating the knowledge of health and sociology and whatever you want to call it, support systems that would help that mother to make a better home for that kid, help her have the skills to prepare, to better take care of that kid, both psychologically and physically...a project like this, working with parents who need help with disciplining their child; they could do.

These quotes from interviews point up that school participants thought the staff's specific services of bringing in speakers and conducting workshops by outside experts were useful, while the area of trying to facilitate the identification of problems and a search for solutions by school staff closest to the project's purpose was feared and resisted. This interest in specific help led even the generally negative assistant principal to praise the first teacher trainer for her efforts in the project:

> The first person, a young girl named Johnson, did a relatively good job in that when she started out, she started getting people to come in and get in-service training to teachers about the problems she conceived inner-city children faced in our area...She brought in doctors, psychologists, probation people and that kind of thing. And they were helpful.

The teacher in charge of the child development program at P.S. 461 essentially echoed the same sentiments:

> The workshops that seemed most successful were those that were presented by Dr. Johnson and she came with the project in the very beginning...then there was Frances Hart, who presented some interesting speakers from Benjamin Banecker Hospital and different places.

In addition to these workshops in which experts were brought in by the teacher trainers to deal with specific school problems, a few of the teachers thought that the project's success in bringing more volunteers into the school to work with teachers was also a positive thing. However, this

latter opinion was by no means unanimous since a number of others believed that the increase in volunteers was the result of efforts by the school as mandated through Title I projects.

The area that probably recieved the most criticism was the much more nebulous, although to some extent, core effort of the project to aid the school in identifying problems and finding solutions to them. In the project director's words:

> We didn't come there with any preconceived notions about what the problems were. What we were trying to do was identify problems and to facilitate the resolution of those particular problems. We felt that a lot of those problems were related to the cultural discontinuity system between the schools.

He believed that one of the reasons why this approach was resisted was that a number of the teachers who were involved took the attitude, "I'm a professional and a professional should take the view that, 'If I need training, I can pay for the training.'"

The assistant principal quoted above, took an almost diametrically opposed view:

> When we started the project I really felt that we started off on the wrong basis because they came to us with the idea that we had problems and that they were going to find our problems. We're going to identify your problems. And when they found that the school staff felt that the school was functioning fairly well, it really put them behind the eight ball.

A teacher from P.S. 656 expressed essentially the same opinion:

> There was a morale problem. This is what they tried to zero in on, this morale problem. But we told them that it was no longer a problem because all the people who were having the problem had left school. They were transferred out. So we no longer had that problem and we no longer would discuss it, but that's what they wanted...they really did insist on telling us that there was a problem and then we wouldn't buy it.

When CCP provided expert workshop services, something that the teachers saw as immediately useful in their work, they found the project useful and

cooperated with it. When the more indirect, less immediately useful, and perhaps even professionally threatening, job of identifying and dealing with underlying problems arose, the staff tended to resist. Since the greater part of the CCP's efforts were directed at facilitating the development of problem-solving strategies and a new way of looking at roles, this accounts for at least some of the feeling on the part of school staff that the project was ineffective and that project participants did nothing.

It also seems likely that this tension between the less readily apparent, underlying structural problems with which the CCP staff were trying to deal, and the perceived immediate needs by school staff had one other unexpected result. Most of the teachers and other school staff who participated in the project were not actual classroom teachers. For the most part those of the school staff active in the project were charged with special programs such as Title I programs, Child Development programs or were counselors. These are the ones who could take the time from their schedule and who saw most clearly the usefulness of the kinds of things the project was trying to do. They also were the members of the school staff who had the most day-to-day contact with the outside school community.

Summary

An important aspect of the CCP experience appears to be the ongoing tension between the project leadership's desires to deal with underlying structural issues and the needs of school staff to resolve immediate day-to-day problems. This phenomenon, which is a common problem of technical assistance efforts, probably explains part of the development of the differing and dysfunctional perspectives about the project. Evidence for

this is seen in the fact that school staff judged as successful those aspects of the program which directly addressed the problems they were facing in their day-to-day activities, such as the workshops conducted by outside experts. The school staff, on the whole, resisted efforts to deal with or to even admit the presence of underlying structural problems. One result was a constant effort on the part of the project to change its activities to meet the needs of the school and to find ways that were less offensive to the staff of realizing its major objectives. Another effect appears to be that the school staff most involved in the project were not the rank and file classroom teachers, but rather those charged with special programs in the school.

The Attempt to Marry Political Activism with a Concern for Meeting Substantive Educational Issues

A third important explanation theme in the CCP experience was the deliberate attempt to merge political goals, using experienced activists, with the substantive educational concepts of Dr. Prince. Both Henry and Dr. Prince had been concerned with essentially the same issue, that of the schools' lack of responsiveness to the cultural underpinnings of its students. Henry had attempted to address the issue through legal action. He had been instrumental in mobilizing parents to learn about their rights under the law and to exercise these rights on behalf of students. He, and his colleagues, had decided that they had probably gone about as far as they could in this respect when they came in contact with Prince and his efforts at working within the school system. In merging their approaches they hoped they would avoid a political thrust with no legitimate substance or an academic package that would founder due to lack of political know-how.

While the logic of a program combining both of these thrusts is obvious, several unexpected developments affected their implementation in the CCP experience. First, the strikingly different personal characteristics and professional qualifications of Henry and Dr. Prince served to muddy the issue. (This factor will be considered separately in the following section.) Second, while the approach of Dr. Prince was predicated upon a spirit of cooperation between the school and the community, the political mode associated with Henry and his colleagues was one of confrontation. Third, the state of uncertainty in the school system which impacted school personnel increased during the project. This was due to a worsening financial crisis with the attendant threat of teacher cuts and transfers, and the trauma caused by attempts to integrate the system. This state of uncertainty made shool people suspicious of political activities on the one hand and unable to concentrate on educational issues on the other.

As a result of these factors a situation was created in which it was possible to ostensibly accept the fundamental goals of the project, but to reject it on the basis that its means were inappropriate. A number of school staff gave as their reason for resisting the project's efforts, the confrontative approach of the project people. A teacher, for example, said:

> The strange thing about it is that I've been on committees with them (the local activists) and I've accepted that's where they are and I can see what they are trying to do, but I don't appreciate the way they are going about it. Because even though I belong to the union and I'm militant in certain respects, you don't get things done in certain ways. They were just kicking over all the traces. They weren't allowing anything to get done.

The assistant principal at P.S. 461 put it in different terms:

> How do you break people who are terribly involved in their job? I don't think there are many professions where you are more involved than as an elementary school teacher. It's a total projection of himself. So when you criticize what goes

> on in that lousy classroom the teacher takes it personally. It's very difficult for them to be objective...Now you're going to take this kind of person and you're to help him change by confrontation? You don't have a snowball's chance in a furnace. You've got to win a person's love and affection and make him believe that you are on his side. You've got to be terribly careful about not betraying him; then maybe he'll listen to what you have to say. Unless that's done you're looked upon as an interloper.

Again, as with the other issues, it is impossible to assess, from the data at hand, with any certainty, whether the use of one approach alone would have been more successful than the attempts to use both.

For example, a course was taught by Dr. King in conjunction with a local college on the competent Black child. This was primarily a straight academic endeavor. The course was attended by only a handful of school people, most of whom were the special project teachers who had been active in the program. They seemed to appreciate and enjoy the class, but little effort was made to follow up on it in the schools.

One striking example of an attempt to exercise political leverage occurred when teachers were being transferred wholesale in the wake of the staff integration order. This also met with a limited response. Teachers would express some interest in using the project's resources until their own individual cases were resolved, and then they would lose interest. Efforts to mobilize them were pretty much resisted.

Summary

A major characteristic of the CCP was its attempt to merge attention to substantive education issues, specifically, cultural discontinuities with political activity. While this two-fold thrust was complicated by personality and situational factors in the school, it did permit school staff to resist the project because of its strategies, while ostensibly accepting its basic objectives.

The Personal and Professional Characteristics of CCP Staff

Although infrequently discussed in the literature, many technical assisters hold that the most significant variable in the success of technical assistance efforts in schools is the personality of the individuals directing the activity. While there sometimes seems to be a self-imposed taboo on most analysts in dealing with the problem of personality, it is impossible to understand the CCP experience without some reference to the personal and professional characteristics of the principal investigator and the project director.

The principal investigator, Dr. Prince, is a highly credentialed (Ph.D. in Psychology), charismatic, and respected educator with a clinical background. His experiences in the school were largely responsible for the initial enthusiastic endorsement of the CCP idea on the part of the two school staffs. Mr. Stone, principal of P.s. 461 described him as follows:

> Dr. Prince has such a good reputation. He had a project going over at 656 that everyone knew about. Evidently, it was successful and his reputation was such that everyone connected with this thought it was to be something that's really worthwhile.

Mrs. Johnson, principal of P.S. 656 expressed the same sentiments:

> The idea was conceived with Dr. Prince. He had done a lot of work with my faculty and me initially...we wanted to work on trying to get our staff pulled together in a real workable way so that the kids could benefit. We went for the humanistic approach; so we had worked with Dr. Prince and his staff for probably a year and a half.
>
> And the parents of P.S. 656 that we got involved with the program were very glad with the involvement. Our parents were very positive. I think the program had merit.

When the project was funded, however, Dr. Prince made the decision that he was only going to devote a small amount of his time to it. He turned the day-to-day operation over to Sam Henry, the project director. Both Henry's

professional qualifications and personality were strikingly different from those of Dr. Prince. He was not a Ph.D. and did not operate from an academic base. The school staff was very much concerned about his credentials. He remarked, "When I first went on to one school site I was quizzed by teachers about what were my qualifications to hold this position here." One of the school administrators claimed that the problem was not his credentials but his level of expertise.

> Dr. Prince needed to find ways to release his control of the project since he was involved in a number of things. He came to us at different times and said to us, "Hey, knock it off and do it with somebody else." But it wasn't that easy because the expertise was not of the same level, and my staff was very sophisticated and they couldn't deal with the other. So he really started to work with Sam Henry and with us to pull the transition to be a smooth one, but it was never able to be pulled off. The expertise was not the same, or the same kind of caliber.

Another of the administrators saw it quite differently. He was concerned with Henry's approch, not his expertise. In describing a budget session that Henry attended with one of his parent consultants, he said:

> He was of no aid at all. In fact, most of the time the sessions were spent blocking the obstructions that he threw out. He was not a facilitator; he was, in fact, the same old clash confrontation type.

Some of the differences between Dr. Prince and Henry were simply a matter of style. Dr. Prince, who felt at home in the unviersity classroom liked to present things using chalkboard, diagrams and the like. Henry, who was more at home in a small meeting with parents concerned about some school issue, didn't find the classroom paraphenalia particularly useful. Whatever the root causes, the contrast in the minds of the participants in the program, particularly school staff, between the principal investigator and the project director, were so great as to have an important effect on the project. These differences were, indeed, striking.

Dr. Prince met the school subculture's expectation that credentials are required to work efectively in schools. Henry did not. Prince spoke as an academic; Henry as a grass roots activist. Prince was charismatic, able to stir people to immediate responses; Henry was low-key, depending on argument to persuade people. Prince was removed from the immediate scene, spending most of his time in the office at the hospital, while Henry was immersed in the day-to-day activities of the project, and making the immediate decisions. Prince was associated in people's minds with the practice of clinical psychology and Benjamin Banecker Hospital. Henry's associations were with the Afro-American School Development Council, which was seen as an anti-school system organization and not too effective.

One incident is particularly useful in seeing the effect of the staff's perception of Dr. Prince and Mr. Henry. Soon after the project had gotten underway, initial contacts had been made, parent training had begun, and teachers and administrators who wished to participate had volunteered, a series of group meetings was scheduled to be held at P.S. 656. When the principal heard that Henry was going to conduct the meetings rather than Dr. Prince, she immediately called the project office and cancelled the meetings. In her call she indicated that she would not allow them to be held, nor would her teachers attend until she could be assured that Dr. Prince would be there. It was only after a protracted negotiation in which she was assured that Dr. Prince would attend the meetings that she finally allowed them to be scheduled. However, by the time they could be scheduled, a number of the teachers who had originally volunteered had lost their enthusiasm. In addition, a state evaluation team was on the site. As a result, the teacher workshops never really got off to the kind of start that had been anticipated.

There is no evidence that Henry was unqualified to administer and carry out the goals of the project. He did, in fact, work closely with parents throughout the tenure of the project. What does emerge with startling clarity from the data is the fact that the personal and professional characteristics of Prince were those valued by the educational subculture, while those of Henry were not. Henry's were held in much higher esteem by members of the parent school communities who responded to his approach. The net effect was that rather than decrease the gap that existed between the two subcultures, as the project had planned, the presence of these two individuals in key leadership positions tended to illustrate the reality of that discontinuity. Again, to assess the effects of these differences on the overall outcomes of the project is impossible. Nevertheless, these differences were repeatedly alluded to as explanations of why people either did or did not participate in the project, or of why they saw the project as useful or as ineffective.

Summary

One factor that is important in understanding the dynamics of the CCP project is the contrast in personal and professional characteristics of the principal investigator and the project director. The differences were of credentials, operational style, perceived past association, relationship to the project, and personality. While parents responded to the cluster of characteristics attributed to the project director, teachers did not. The latter found the principal investigator, who was removed from the day-to-day operation of the program, much more acceptable. The result was a continuing feeling of frustration on the part of the project director as he worked in the school. The project director summed up eloquently the dilemma the

situation created for him. The NIE proejct officer had made a site visit and had held a confidential talk with some of the school people. She shared some of her information with the project director without mentioning any names. According to him, one of the comments made in a meeting with her was that "people had such love for Dr. Prince, which they didn't have for me, in fact."

> One of the things that a number of women said was that, "He sends chills right down to my toes." They felt I was capable of doing the job but there was this one thing that stood in between. After she told me what had happened, I attempted to modify the way I related to people...trying to give a little more and to give them a few strokes.

Impact of the Staff Integration Plan

A final explanatory theme is the effect of the school system's integration. Both the voluntary busing of children, which had been in effect for some time, and the massive transfer of staff, which took place during the project, had unanticipated results on the project. In order to understand these effects, some of the highlights of the history of the integration issue in San Andreas must be related to the history of the project.

As is the case in many cities, it became apparent in the early 1960s that almost invariably, minority pupils attended minority schools and Anglo students attended Anglo schools. Parents in one school decided to seek legal redress and have their school integrated. In August 1963, the American Civil Liberties Union filed a class action suit on behalf of these parents and others who were similarly situated.

The board's response was to set up a voluntary busing plan. According to the project director:

> The school district went in a very indirect manner to try and meet the racial balance question by encouraging parents to participate in what came to be called PWT (meaning Permit With

> Transportation). It is a volunteer busing program and puts the burden for integrating schools on the shoulders of the community. If a parent wants his child to attend a school in one of the predominantly white suburbs covered by the district, he or she can be accommodated. All they had to do is sign a form.

This approach, which was in effect at the time the program was implemented, did not satisfy the demands of the parents filing suit for more complete integration. In February 1970, a Superior Court judge ruled that the board must begin a more complete integration of the schools. The Board appealed the ruling and the decision was stayed. Then, after reversal at the Court of Appeals, the California Supreme Court ruled in 1976 that the board had deliberately gerrymandered school attendance boundaries and ordered the board to prepare desegregation plans and submit them to the Superior Court.

In a related suit, the plaintiffs successfully argued that teaching staffs were segregated as well. The school board, in complying with the court orders to desegregate, created a lottery system so that staff would be transferred at random. Notices were sent out during the spring of 1976 to teachers who were going to be transferred. Notices were received in the middle of the CCP project. As a result of these orders, half of the teaching staff at P.S. 656 and approximately eight of the 70 or so teachers at P.S. 461 received notices that they were going to be transferred.

Teacher transfers caused serious trauma in the community and in the CCP project. Many parents felt the transfers were not random and that only the most well-qualified, in terms of experience, advanced degrees and training, were selected for transfer. These issues became a matter of great concern to CCP, but after many hours of discussion no clear direction for political action was agreed upon. The transfers had a major effect on the structure

of the project since a number of the transferred teachers had been active in it. New teachers were not familiar with its goals and strategies. The insecurity felt by the school staff engendered by the impending transfers, and the counter moves that followed to keep them from happening, demanded so much of the teachers' and administrators' attention that the other project issues were not dealt with.

The project director saw integration as one of the high priority issues that had been dealt with. He said:

> One of the things we talked about was the whole issue of school desegregation and how people felt about it and tried to get people to develop some kind of perspective--What the issues actually are. What does it actually mean to the school? And based on those issues, what should be our approach?

The desegregation of staff raised important issues with respect to the whole question of cultural discontinuity and how best to deal with it for CCP. It also called into question one of the underlying assumptions of the project, that school staffs are permanent enough so that one can build a long-range improvement project with a staff and ultimately turn it over to them.

Desegregation had to be considered in terms of cultural discontinuity. If a community served by a school is fairly homogeneous culturally, it is conceptually not difficult to develop a program that builds upon the cultural base of the children, even if the schools support other values and perceptions. It also should not be difficult to find representatives of that culture, in parents, who can work with the school to see that the integrity of the children's culture is valued and respected. The CCP attempted to address these issues by getting parents and teachers to develop programs that respected the culture of children by giving them more than simply a grounding in their historical roots and an understanding of the

differences between their language and that of the mainstream. Effective programs, to put it in the words of the project director, had to have "an emphasis on what I would call social issues that grow out of the discontinuity that exists within this society." At least in P.S. 461 the project had some effect and an attempt was made to write some of these concerns into the Title I guidelines.

The voluntary busing program raised a serious issue for the project. The minority children who were going to find themsleves in dominantly white schools needed the support of being in touch with their cultural heritage even more than those who remained in community schools. A basic question arose respecting how to make sure that they were provided with this grounding and security. No really satisfactory answer was developed. The CCP attempted to facilitate the school and comunity struggle with this and other related questions.

Since the busing program was voluntary, the way was open for school administrators to take several postures toward it. They were able to encourage students to go to white schools; they could discourage them; or they could take a completely hands-off policy. According to the project leadership, the administration at P.S. 461, where the principal was white, was more willing to encourage students to be bused than at P.S. 656, where the principal was Black.

The parent consultants generally felt that voluntary busing was inimical to their best interests. First, they thought that the best students would tend to be transferred out and that these would not be replaced with others since busing turned out to be essentially one way. Second, they saw that what was needed were attempts to improve the community schools and that

money would not be coming to do this so long as students could choose to go to other schools. Finally, since many of the special programs, and money to support these programs, were allocated on the basis of average daily attendance, they believed that if substantial numbers of students decided to leave and go to suburban schools, that the inner-city schools would jeopardize their chances of keeping the special money they were getting.

Ostensibly the CCP attempted to maintain a neutral attitude with respect to these issues and to facilitate parents' understanding of the options and of the implications of their decisions. CCP felt that it was important to carefully educate parents, in part, at least, to counteract the parents' tendency to trust the schools and to sign without serious thought the forms to permit their children to be bused. The project director described their approach in the following words:

> We tried looking at the advantages and disadvantages of allowing a child to be part of the busing program. We tried to look at some tangible kinds of things, of whether or not parents would be able to be involved in their child's education by being so far removed. We dealt with issues of travel by bus and whether or not the kids would have a normal school life, just based on getting on the bus early in the morning and getting back later in the afternoon. Then we talked about quality of eduation. What is the quality of education out there and what's the quality of education you're going to have here?

The effect of these discussions on actual practice is not clear. These discussions were a part of a two-pronged effort to deal with the question. At the same time Dr. Prince and others were conducting workshops for teachers on the strength of the Black family and related topics.

At any rate, after the second year of the project, these issues were made somewhat moot by the staff transfer orders which immediately took priority. There is no consensus within the project, especially between CCP staff, parent consultants, and school administrators as to the ultimate

effect of this massive upheaval on the project. CCP staff claims that it had a major effect, that the two years of goundwork they had laid in getting school people to understand the cultural discontinuity problem and to find ways to address it pretty much went for naught. They contend that the teachers who were transferred out were the ones who had been most active in the project and that the ones who came in were relatively inexperienced, not terribly committed to the education of children and did not actively get involved in the project. One administrator and several teachers claimed that this is absolutely not true, that it is an attempt to find excuses for the project's failure; that the project already had proved itself ineffective and that the teachers who were transferred out were no more active than the ones who were left behind. One of the principals did think that it probably had an important effect and that many of her teachers who left had supported the project.

Two facts appear to be incontrovertible. One, the project was not able to make any significant impact on changing the transfer decisions, nor could it come up with a considered course of action to deal with the issue. On the other hand, however, this trauma did contribute to the project's decision to rethink its original strategy of working equally with teachers and parents to provide a basis of understanding and to concentrate the remainder of its efforts on parents who appeared to be the stable element in the school community.

Summary

The desegregation issue had a significant and important impact on the CCP project. This impact was both indirect and direct. Pupil transfers indirectly affected the way in which the discontinuity between community and

school subcultures was considered; teacher transfers directly disrupted CCP work with teachers in the two schools, at least from the perspective of CCP. This disruption contributed to the rethinking of its strategy.

Chapter Summary

We started this chapter saying that we were going to take a look at several explanatory themes emerging from the CCP experience. This examination suggests that the CCP to some extent fell into the trap that it was trying to deal with, that of conflicting subcultural values. One immediate result was a strikingly different set of ways of looking at important aspects of the project on the part of project staff on the one hand, and school staff on the other. As the project developed and attempted to respond to and adjust its strategies and goals to meet the concerns and needs of schools and school communities, differences in perceptions did not disappear, but in fact, grew. One result was that the project in its final stages was very different from what had been envisioned on paper in the original proposal. It largely abandoned its attempts to work equally with the school community and school staff, concentrating instead primarily on the school community. Furthermore, while it had started with hopes of addressing both some very fundamental and substantive educational structural problems along with the implementation of an effective political strategy, it ended up pretty much concentrating on the political activities.

In this chapter, five factors were identified as contributing to this end result. First is the effect of these differing sets of perceptions on the part of participants; second was the tension between the CCP's attempt to deal with underlying structural issues and the immediate needs of school

staff; third, the effect of merging a political activist strategy with attention to substantive educational issues; fourth was the role of the personal and professional characteristics of the two people most directly involved in the leadership of the project; and finally, the effect of San Andreas' desegregation on the project.

Again, it must be emphasized, that while these factors serve to explain much of the CCP experience and are of potential value to others contemplating similar intervention strategies, they do not give any clear indication as to the overall success or failure of the project. That it had an impact on certain individuals and that it had an impact on the schools is indisputable, if for no other reason than is witnessed by the strong emotions and reactions it evoked. That the end results were not those anticipated by the project authors is also indisputable.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

Documentation of the CCP witnessed a number of unusual difficulties. Three documentors were hired, none of whom, for a variety of personal and professional reasons, finished this case study. The third documentor provided considerable information for this report. He collected important data and wrote a series of vignettes describing several aspects of the project and of life in the two target schools. His efforts provided the demographic information in the first chapter and the teacher and parent interviews quoted at the beginning of Chapter II.

The task of authorship of this report was assigned finally to Dr. Smith, who had served as research coordinator for this and three other projects from July 1977 to the end of the year. In collecting the information for the present report he worked closely with Yvonne King of DTA, who had been involved with the CCP from the beginning. She knew most of the participants well and had been research coordinator until December 1976. Dr. Smith also worked with the third documentor, Dr. Carl Word, on a number of occasions between July and December 1977.

Dr. Smith's supplementary data gathering consisted of the following:

> Perusal of all available documents including DTA correspondence, RFP, original and continuation proposals, site researcher correspondence, field data forms, analytic logs and analytic papers, and voluminous documents provided by the project director and school people.
>
> A visit to the site in December 1977 with Ms. Yvonne King and Dr. Carl Word. The visit consisted of two days of very intensive discussion, one each with TAG people (Mr. Sam Henry and Mrs. Harriet Bass), and with two school teachers who had been active in the project. During this time we went over the findings and written material of Dr. Word and explored a number of other leads provided by the project.

A ten-day visit to the site in February 1978 in which both of the schools were visited as well as project headquarters, and tape recorded interviews were conducted with a number of teachers, both of the principals, the vice principal at 461 and the project director. Several parents and the principal investigator were interviewed during these two site visits.

After the manuscript was drafted it was sent to Ms. King, Dr. Stephen Wilson (director of research for DTA) and Dr. Thomas A. Wilson (principal investigator for DTA). Their comments were incorporated into the draft, which was then sent to two teachers and two TAG people for their comments. As indicated in the author's preface, their comments were incorporated in the final draft to the extent possible given the limitations of time.

Although the contributions of Dr. Word and Ms. King were substantial, responsibility for accuracy of the reporting and any conclusions must rest with Dr. Smith, the author.

APPENDIX II: WHAT IS TO BE LEARNED FROM THE COP?

WHAT IS TO BE LEARNED FROM THE CCP?

The following ten comments were drafted by Dr. Stephen Wilson upon reading a draft of the report on the CCP. They are based not just on the findings of this report but on his acquaintance with the project as it unfolded. Because of their significance they are presented here in unembellished (although slightly edited) form.

1. The choice of operational director is extremely important (we have seen this in other projects) as she/he gives slant to the project.

2. The difficulties of combining confrontational strategy with individual/group sensitivity approach.

3. The importance of prior relationships and reputation.

4. The need for movement toward an ultimate goal--just helping teachers with problems or addressing underlying structural needs didn't go very far.

5. The power of teacher orientations in shaping the way they see the notions of professionalism.

6. The difficulties of finding appropriate roles for clients (parents) in organizational life.

7. The difficulty of genuinely becoming part of an ongoing operation as opposed to providing an additional program.

8. The problems in definition of community--parents vs. larger concerned community.

9. The problems faced by "teacher trainers." (Maybe there are special problems for TA that tries to bridge different subcultures. The existence of subculture pressures, insider and outsider feelings.)

10. The disorganization that can result from desegregation.